DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 287 750 SO 017 648

AUTHOR	Buetow, Harold A.
TITLE	A History of United States Catholic Schooling: NCEA Keynote Series No. 2.
INSTITUTION	National Catholic Educational Association, Washington, D.C.
PUB DATE	85
NOTE	88p.
AVAILABLE FROM	National Catholic Educational Association, 1077 30th Street, NW, Suite 100, Washington, DC 20007.
PUB TYPE	Historical Materials (060) -- Viewpoints (120) -- Reports - Descriptive (141)
EDRS PRICE	MF01/PC04 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS	Catholic Educators; *Catholic Schools; *Educational History; Educational Legislation; Educational Practices; Elementary Secondary Education; Parochial Schools; Private Education; *Religious Education; Religious Organizations; State Church Separation
IDENTIFIERS	Pierce v Society of Sisters; Servicemans Readjustments Act 1944

ABSTRACT

Roman Catholic schools in the United States have made significant contributions which include the first schools in many geographic areas, the first textbook in the United States, and the first dictionaries of some Indian languages. Early attempts to establish Catholic schools led to incidents which required heroism of the leaders and sacrifices by the laity. The U.S. Catholic schools had their roots in European Catholic countries and, as a result, the first schools in the western hemisphere were located in Spanish and French territories. The growth of the 13 British colonies set the pattern for the future development of the colonies and the U.S. public school systems. At the time, Catholics were regarded as an insignificant and powerless minority. The U.S. Constitution's First Amendment has led to the United States being the only country in the western hemisphere which prohibits religious observances in public schools. From 1783-1828, U.S. Catholics, while facing hostility, poverty, and the frontier wilderness, established an educational philosophy and school organizational pattern. Because of immigration and westward expansion, the period of 1829-1884 was one of growth and expansion in contrast to the years 1885-1917, which were characterized by instability and slower growth due to the rise of materialism, pragmatism, naturalism, and Darwinism. Catholic schools defended their right to exist in the 1918 Code of Common Law. This right was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in Pierce versus Society of Sisters. Since 1957, the Catholic schools in the United States have stressed education to the inner city underprivileged. Suggested teaching formats for use of this material are included. (JHP)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

BEST COPY AVAILABLE

NCEA Keynote Series No. 2

ED287750

A History of United States Catholic Schooling

Father Harold A. Buetow, JD, Ph.D.

SO017648

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION
Office of Educational Research and Improvement
EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)

☐ This document has been reproduced as received from the person or organization originating it.
☐ Minor changes have been made to improve reproduction quality.

• Points of view or opinions stated in this document do not necessarily represent official OERI position or policy.

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

P. Kobus

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

A HISTORY OF UNITED STATES CATHOLIC SCHOOLING

Father Harold A. Buetow, JD, Ph.D.

© 1985 National Catholic Educational Association

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface i
1. Catholic Schools and the Common Good 1
2. European Prologue 7
3. The Colonial Period: Transplantation 9
New Spain 9
New France 10
New England 12
4. Early National Period: Formative Foundations 17
5. Later National Period: Transition 23
6. Growth: Immigration at High Tide 31
7. New Maturation: Post-World War I to Post-World War II 39
8. Contemporary Period: Ferment and Challenge 49
Conditions 49
Curricula 52
Goals 53
Students 53
Teachers 56
Secondary Agents of Education: Family, Church, State 58
9. Conclusions 67
Summary 71
Resources 77
Suggestions for Using This Booklet 81
About the Author 89

PREFACE

The NCEA Keynote Series is made possible by a grant from the Michael J. McGivney Fund. This fund for new initiatives in Catholic education came through the generosity of the Knights of Columbus under the leadership of Virgil C. Dechant, Supreme Knight.

The Reverend Russell M. Bleich, Superintendent of Education in the Diocese of Dubuque, Iowa, made the original suggestion for preservice and inservice materials for teachers. Thanks are due the authors of this series and to the staff of the Education Office of the Archdiocese of Dubuque for the practical application section of each booklet.

Special thanks go to Ms. Eileen Torpey, the major editor of the series. The editorial committee consists of the Reverend J. Stephen O'Brien, Executive Director of the Department of Chief Administrators of Catholic Education, Sister Carleen Reck, Executive Director of the Elementary School Department, and Michael J. Guerra, the Executive Director of the Secondary School Department.

1. CATHOLIC SCHOOLS AND THE COMMON GOOD

Catholic schooling in the United States is a phenomenon of which all can be proud: the Roman Catholic Church, its leaders, the laity whose sacrifices made it possible, the clergy who worked for it, all who had the vision to make it different from any other in the world, and—especially—those religious, lay teachers, and administrators who worked and continue to work very hard for it with little material remuneration. The enterprise has a larger number of heroes and undeclared saints than any other comparably-sized group. It seems from many points of view to be a miracle of U.S. society.

Catholic schools constitute not a system but a pattern, one in which all parts have elements in common, but in which each part, and often each school, differs from all others. This pattern has made many contributions to our country. For one thing, U.S. Catholic schooling is responsible for many "firsts." The first school of any kind was Roman Catholic in such areas as Louisiana, Kansas, the District of Columbia, North Dakota, Ohio, Kentucky, lower California, and Baltimore. The first textbook within the confines of the present U.S. was the *Doctrina Breve* of Juan Zumarraga, brought from Mexico. The first dictionaries and formulations of Indian languages were compiled by missionaries. The first printing press in Michigan was that which Father Gabriel Richard, S.S., brought to his school at Spring Hill.

The first normal schools were established in the U.S. by the Sisters of Charity under St. Elizabeth Bayley Seton and by the Sisters of Loretto in Nazareth, Ky., about a quarter of a century before the public ones. West of the Mississippi,

the first literary magazine was Catholic (*The Catholic Cabinet*, 1843-45), as was the first chartered university (St. Louis, 1832). The first high school diploma awarded in the state of Colorado was given by St. Mary's Academy, Denver. The Ursulines, in addition to being the first women to take care of a military hospital within the confines of the present U.S., were the first to establish an orphanage, to shelter and work for the protection of girls, to give the U.S. a woman who contributed a work of literary and historical merit (Madeleine Hachard), and to give the country a woman druggist (Sister Frances Xavier Hebert).

There have been many other frequently-overlooked contributions of Catholic schooling to our country. The recruitments of religious-order teachers took place at a time when the U.S. was a cultural desert. John Quincy Adams called one of them, Father Simon Gabriel Bruté, "the most learned man of his day in America." Others also had degrees from respected European universities. When possible, the schools accommodated non-Catholics: at Nazareth Academy in Kentucky, for example, from 1815 to 1881, fully two-thirds of the girl students were Protestant. The same sisters for several years gave free service to schools in the mining sections of Ohio, maintained schools in poor urban and rural areas while refusing lucrative offers elsewhere, provided free service to orphans in the Louisville area from 1831 to 1923, and performed innumerable other works for the needy.

The teaching religious often sacrificed to the point of heroism. When the first Ursuline nuns, who came to New Orleans in 1727, landed at the mouth of the Mississippi after three months on the turbulent Atlantic Ocean, they still had to make a long and tedious trip through mosquito-and snake-infested bayous and swamps to the town, which then contained more than its share of a rough population. (Because of their contributions to New Orleans schooling as well as those of other nuns, that city to this day exempts women religious from paying public transportation fares.) The first community of American origin—the Visitation Nuns—lived in a combination convent and school, whose walls were not plastered from 1799 to 1811, at which time a sister lathed and plastered most of them herself. The first Sisters of Chari-

ty at Emmitsburg, Md., became sick from lack of heat and from hunger. For the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Ky., the first accommodations were a log house with one room below and one above, with a nearby hut serving as a kitchen.

The dying Father Frederic Baraga forced upon a visiting priest all the money he had ($20) for the visitor's school. When three Sisters of Loretto and two Sisters of Charity were traveling with others to Santa Fe in 1867, some of the party contracted cholera and all were frequently attacked by Indians; so disturbing was the experience that one Lorettine, Sister Mary Alphonsa Thompson, aged 18, literally died of fright. On the other end of the age scale, Philippine Duchesne was 72 years of age when she went to work among the Potawatomi. And Katherine Drexel, by the time of her death in 1955, had given a financial fortune to the Catholic education of Indians and blacks, and her death set in motion the provisions of a further fortune to Catholic schooling through her father's will.

In addition, most of the sisters often took on such work as laundering for support. They frequently undertook long journeys that gave second thoughts even to strong men, and allowed their dedication to carry them into the middle of border warfare and riots. They set up free schools for the poor—long before such was the practice elsewhere—beside their boarding schools, from which they derived necessary financial support. In addition to eradicating religious illiteracy, they contributed to the country as well as to their church a cultural enrichment and a fullness of life.

From all groups of Catholic teachers—religious, clergy, and lay—came outstanding leaders of whom any educational system would be proud. Most of these were unsung. They brought their work to what the Bible calls the *anawim*—the downtrodden, outcast, powerless, poor members of society. Research indicates that schools have a much greater effect upon this group than upon the better-off and those from better-educated parents.

It was because of the laity's ideals of sacrifice that the religious came when they did, and it was their willingness to undergo double taxation that financially supported their schools for so long. Lay responsibilities in Catholic school-

ing, sometimes considered "new" today, are really age-old. For example, from the time of the establishment of New York City's St. Peter's Free School (1800) until 1831, the teachers were exclusively lay, and in six of the first seven schools founded between 1800 and 1860 in Savannah, Ga., the teachers were all lay.

Many non-Catholics have throughout history paid tribute to the contributions of Roman Catholic schools: e.g., non-Catholics were happy to pay tuition for their children to attend the early Catholic school at Goshenhoppen, Pa.; the entire citizenry of Detroit elected to Congress Father Richard, who set up their city's school system and laid the early foundations of the University of Michigan; Visitation Academy in Georgetown was for many years recognized as the best secondary school opportunity for the daughters of governmental representatives of all denominations; Protestants went out of their way to congratulate the Jesuit Leonard Neale for his schooling efforts in their behalf; a mid-19th-century visitor from England, generally recognized as perceptive, wrote that the schooling of higher-echelon Protestants seemed to be entrusted to Catholic priests and nuns. When the Sisters of Charity of Nazareth, Ky., were surrounded by Union forces during the Civil War and the sisters were fearful, President Abraham Lincoln, who could have known the sisters only from their educational work, personally wrote and signed a safeguard to his troops. In 1877, Henry Kiddle, superintendent of schools for New York City, felt that the teachers in parochial schools were better prepared and superior to teachers in government schools.[1]

Unfortunately, Catholic schooling has been categorized as "private," in contrast with "public" schooling. This differentiation has pejorative connotations. The "private" is at times equated with the "personal," which in most contexts connotes that everyone must live and die alone. "Private" signifies a separation from common purposes, meaningful participation in the common weal, and interest in helping society for the better. The word "public," on the other hand, has more acceptable overtones. *The Oxford English Dictionary* says of "public":

The varieties of sense (of the term "public") are

numerous and pass into each other by many intermediate shades of meaning. The exact shade often depends upon the substantive qualified (e.g., "the public ministry of Jesus," "public affairs," a "public hall"), and in some expressions more than one sense is vaguely present; in others the usage is traditional, and it is difficult to determine in what sense precisely the thing in question was originally called "public."[2]

There is no such thing as a "private" school. By its nature, every school takes its students from the public and returns them, for good or for ill, to the public; uses texts and other materials from publishers who are public; forms its curricula in accord with its vision of public needs; abides by at least minimum public standards set by the state; accepts teachers who were trained in publicly-approved institutions according to publicly-certified criteria; and so on. The only ways in which Catholic schools differ from their "public" counterparts are in their goals, their methods of funding, and their administration by church authorities. Catholic school goals are consonant with the best interests of the nation: Daniel Webster said that "whatever makes men good Christians makes them good citizens." Catholic school funding is mostly from free-will donations.

It is therefore more accurate and more appropriate to designate Catholic schools as "denominational," "church-affiliated," or "nongovernment" schools, and government-funded ones as "government" schools. This is the terminology we shall use. If, because of the setup in the United States, unique in the Western world in its intended omission of religion from its schools, this terminology seems to point to a startling parallel to the Soviet Union and other totalitarian regimes, let that be a matter for further thought.

Lastly, we shall use categories based ultimately upon Aristotle to encompass the areas of schooling and education. They are all-embracing, so that if one knows the contents of all of them at any given period, one truly knows that period. Alphabetically they begin with the agents of education, those responsible for getting it done. The primary agent is the student. Without one's self-activity, there is no education, no matter how good the facilities or teachers. The secon-

dary agents are the family, the church, and the state. Then there are the conditions of education: the external conditions emanating from society, such as whether society encourages and cooperates with schooling; and the internal conditions, such as the nature of the equipment, the administration, and the like.

Curriculum also is important, containing as it does all that the school has to offer in the way of education. Curriculum, in turn, is guided by the school's goals. Though often ignored or paid lip service or presented in grandiose but meaningless terms, goals are from some points of view the most important aspect of a school. One cannot measure the degree of success or failure of a school unless one can compare its achievements against its goals. Aristotle said that no wind is helpful to a ship without a destination. Fifth is students, for whom the school enterprise exists. And sixth is teachers, whose training, insights, and other qualities make them the instruments of the whole enterprise.

2. EUROPEAN PROLOGUE

Most citizens of the United States recognize Europe as the main source, not only of the languages they speak, but also of most of their dearly-held convictions. Most of the contexts that were shaped by the Western European tradition dated from the years around and after Columbus' discovery of America in 1492. The 15th century was a time of expanding trade, culminating in a "Commercial Revolution" and the discovery of new worlds. The ultimate motivations for the founding of America, however, went way beyond that. There was, for example, the vast reservoir of popular piety and the devotional life of the people. The popular piety of the early emigres obliterated the sharp distinctions which we make at present between the sacred and the secular. Moderns who consider Luther's table-talk vulgar and Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales* anti-clerical fail to understand that the church was present not only at the great life events of birth, marriage, and death, but also in the organizations of crafts and professions, the offices of government, and international relations. Theology and science interpenetrated each other, and in the popular thought of the time, "the sky hung low."

The church in that ethos had a dynamic life in this world, and not just in a world to come. The church was not an alien in the world any more than the world was a stranger to the church. Abbots and archbishops became rulers; priests became secretaries of state and administrators; canons became wandering men of letters, like Erasmus; other clerics became physicians and scientists, like Copernicus; papal secretaries were humanistic dilettantes, like Poggio; and a pope, Julius II (1503-1513), even served as a field general. These phenomena further blurred the distinction between

the sacred and the secular.

Some factors of change, however, were in the wind—e.g., economic development, the growth of national feeling, and, most relevant here, the "new learning," that multiplex combination of attitudes associated with the Renaissance. Many factors inspired movements for church reform. Among the individual champions of Catholic spiritual renewal, perhaps none was deeper than St. Teresa of Avila (1515-82), who represented a long developing Spanish tradition, and St. John of the Cross(1542-91), who was virtually her spiritual son. While Germany was producing a Martin Luther, Spain, the land of Isabella, was producing an Ignatius of Loyola. From 1534 to 1549, the papacy was occupied by Paul III, under whom reform reached the Chair of Peter. He was responsible for the initiation of the Council of Trent from 1545 to 1563. The final results of the council constituted an important ecclesiastical landmark.

No less important, and in many ways more important, was the condition of the Protestant sections of Europe at the time. Nearly all who wound up coming to America from Great Britain, for example, were disposed in one way or another to make the most of the liberties made available by England's revolution of 1688 and America's "free air." Much diversity—religious, ideological, and ethnic—coexisted in the immigrations, tending ultimately to advance the practice of religious freedom.

3. THE COLONIAL PERIOD: TRANSPLANTATION

New Spain

The Catholic settlements in New Spain and New France preceded the Protestant settlements of New England. In their missions to Mexico, Central America, South America, and the borderlands of what became the United States—Florida, Louisiana, New Mexico, Texas, Arizona, and California—the missionaries had one chief aim: spreading the Catholic faith. But since the provisions of the royal patronage under which the church operated also regarded missionaries as agents of the state,the goals of church and state were fused and furthered by the system of schooling implemented in New Spain. Although the overall system involved measures of force and compulsion, it at least rivaled the mother country in being progressive and Christian.

Some held that the missionaries were much more liberal than those in the mother country, and if "free air makes free people," they may be right. The city of Mexico became the central office of Spain's outposts of empire. Wherever the priests went, a school was established for the instruction of the Indians or a college for its clerics. Half a century before Jamestown was founded by the English, the University of Mexico was conferring degrees—on Europeans at any rate—in law and theology. The Indian schools disciplined the natives, introduced them to Western civilization, made them self-supporting, and brought them the truths of Christianity, all within the Spanish way of life. Frequently the missionaries' secular counterparts exploited the Indian, a situation which the missionaries deplored.

The large mission schools, sometimes managing more than

2000 Indians, frequently contained a weaving room, blacksmith shop, tannery, wine press, and warehouses. The missionaries introduced irrigation ditches, vegetable gardens, and grain fields, and on the ranges, thousands of horses, cattle, sheep, and goats. When possible and advantageous to the natives, the missionaries taught them to read and write, but for a people moving from primitive living into a different civilization the missionaries considered technical training as the most suited schooling.

New France

The French efforts, in contrast, were in such places as the present states of Maine, New York, and Louisiana, and in such areas as the Great Lakes and the Illinois country. The missionaries there found the Indians difficult to Christianize and educate. As one of the earliest French missionaries, Jean de Brebeuf, S.J., wrote in 1637:

> All the fine qualities which might make you loved and respected in France are like pearls trampled under the feet of swine, or rather of mules, which utterly despise you when they see that you are not as good pack animals as they are. If you go naked, and carry the load of a horse on your back, as they do, then you would be wise according to their doctrine and would be recognized as a great man. Otherwise not."[3]

In these areas, Indian aversion to anything abstract or spiritual, together with a nomadic way of life, made any stable school influence difficult. The French fur traders and their families found it practical to follow the Indian nomadic way, so that schooling for the French settlers was practically as impossible as it was for the Indians.

Not all Indians can be grouped together, however. Gabriel Marest, S.J., testified, for example, that "[t]he Illinois are much less barbarous than other savages."[4] At the same time, Marest expressed the opinion that a change had been wrought in the Illinois due in part to the influence of the Christian religion. Herbert Priestley has observed that "amid white and red men alike, the church sought to raise the level of civilization by educational ministrations."[5] Into the

wilderness the missionaries followed their nomad flocks and, even though the results may have been meager, the efforts were great.

Adding to the primitive Indians as sources of mission difficulties were heresies that infected even some of the clergy. One was Gallicanism, a movement from France that advocated administrative independence from papal control for the Catholic Church in each country. Another was Jansenism, which emphasized theological pessimism, harshness, and moral rigorism. These heresies were as strong in New France as in the old.

In terms of lasting results, the French efforts at schooling, education, and civilization in the North American continent can perhaps be termed a failure. In spite of the fact that hundreds of priests—Jesuits, Franciscans, Sulpicians, Carmelites, Capuchins, and secular priests—spent a great part of their lives and often their blood in behalf of Christian formation and education, the authorities at home and in the colonies were frequently uncooperative. The immorality of whites and natives, the unpredictability of the Indians, tribal warfare, and the continuous wars between England and France were a hindrance to any process of acculturation (an anthropological term for education).

French secular government concern for the Indians was economic, built upon the fur trade and political diplomacy in gaining Indian allies against the English. Although the French crown desired the Christianization of the natives and it was determined that New France be a Catholic colony, acculturation outside of Quebec and Montreal was fragmentary. The missionaries in New France could not form the natives into well-knit communal groups as did the missionaries of New Spain.

Acculturation requires a certain measure of stability, and missionary activity in New France had to consist mainly of blazing the trail into the unknown frontiers which the trader followed. It is, nevertheless, from the pens of the missionaries, in shaky canoes or in dark forests or in smoky wigwams, that we gain a knowledge of their endeavors in the wilderness, which for the most part was New France. Historian William Munroe commented:

> Intellectually, the people of New France comprised on the one hand a small elite and on the other a great unlettered mass. There was no middle class between. Yet the population of the colony always contained, especially among its officials and clergy, a sprinkling of educated and scholarly men. These have given us a literature of travel and description which is extensive and of high quality. No other American colony of the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries put so much of its annals in print; the *Relations of the Jesuits* alone were sufficient to fill forty-one volumes and they formed but a small part of the entire literary output.[6]

There were many diverse motives for the colonization of New Spain and New France, but they always contained the propagation of the Catholic faith in the New World. For the missionaries, who were also the educators, the greatest single objective was the extension of God's kingdom on earth, and this essentially involved the extension of Western education as well. The missionaries made American Catholics a people with a tradition — the longest tradition, apart from the Indians', in North America.

New England

It was the Thirteen Colonies along the Atlantic coastline, however, that set the pattern for the future development of what became the United States. The Mayflower left a profound mark on U.S. religious life, and the branches of Christianity, with headquarters in Geneva, Edinburgh, and Canterbury provided a stamp deeper than Rome's on what became the public motto: *Novus Ordo Seclorum* (A New Order of Things).

By the beginning of the 18th century, the colonial settlements on the Eastern seaboard had become a prosperous extension of British society, in which the prevailing outlook on life and the world was unmistakably influenced by a Puritan ethos. The ways in which this ethos was institutionalized, however, were different and uneven. Most of New England established a regulated, ecclesiastical, and educational system. The Middle Colonies were already an-

ticipating the future by dealing with ethnic and religious pluralism. The "Southern Ethic," a bit further into the century, reflected many emphases similar to those of New England, with decisive marks of the expansion of slavery. All the colonies were pervaded also by an ideology which was increasingly secular.

Beginning about 1734, and lasting until around 1744, a great international Protestant upheaval showed itself in America as the Great Awakening. Everywhere it extended the range of gospel preaching and brought division, along with popular enthusiasm, and gave new vigor to Puritanism. In 1759, by which time these revivals had waned, the situation in the colonies was changed by the British conquest of New France. With the French threat gone, the maturing process of the new America began to take political form, a course of events in which patriotic heroes began to emerge. In the confrontation with England, these heroes had to decide, in Erik H. Erikson's terminology, whether to "kill and survive" or "die and become." The military turmoil of the Revolution that put an end to this epoch did not end this polarity.

Simultaneous with all of this was a wide, sweeping intellectual revolution: the rationalistic and faith-excluding "Enlightenment." Even before 1700, the Age of Reason had begun to create theological problems for the Puritans, leaving such orthodox Puritans as Jonathan Edwards to struggle with its religious implications as much as deists like Benjamin Franklin. It also provided a philosophical base for the unfolding work of the Founding Fathers. Though the developing "new nation" never lost the Puritan's sense of America's special destiny as a chosen nation, the theme of secularistic rationalism also perdured.

Catholics in the 13 original colonies were an insignificant and powerless minority. In 1790 they numbered no more than 35,000 in a population of over four million. In 1776, Catholics in Maryland were considered full citizens properly so-called for the first time since 1654, when the Puritans had abrogated Maryland's Act of Toleration of 1649. They shared the contemporary attitudes toward education: that it is the responsibility of the parents and that formal school-

ing should be church-controlled. They wanted the education of their children to be Catholic, and sacrificed toward that end. Families who could afford it sent their children abroad, to such colleges as St. Omer's in Flanders and to convent schools of Europe. To provide preparation, the Jesuits offered such schools as those at Newtown Manor and Bohemia, about which we know little. In November 1791, Georgetown College opened, founded by John Carroll (1735-1815) and staffed by other priests, all of whom had been Jesuits until the Jesuits were suppressed by the papacy in 1773.

Of all the wonderful features of the Constitution, that great document written in 1787, the one that pertains most to Catholic education is the part of the First Amendment having to do with religion: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof." The interpretation of those words as applied to schools has constituted about 95 percent of church-state issues. Senator Robert Packwood, in the 1978 Senate subcommittee hearings on tuition tax credits, said, "Every member of the Constitutional Convention came from a state that, prior to the adoption of the Constitution and after, levied taxes * * * collected those taxes, and gave the taxes to churches to run primary and secondary schools for the education of those children who chose to go to school." Inasmuch as the document is the result of both Christian and Enlightenment influences, however, interpretations by the Supreme Court and legal scholars have differed through the ages. In general, the court would interpret the "free exercise" clause more liberally than the "establishment" clause.

Many scholars deem it necessary to know the history of the times to interpret "establishment" correctly and not confuse it with "separation" of religion from government or from the people. The American Revolution differed from the French and other European revolutions in not being motivated by a militant secularism. Statements about disestablishment were a practical accommodation to the presence of many religions, guaranteeing freedom to all, rather than a doctrinaire attempt to exclude religion from society or the state.

Religion is very much a part of our country. George Washington, at his first inaugural, said, "No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United States." In his farewell address, he said, "Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports—reason and experience both forbid us to expect that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle."

Other individuals, documents, and customs have made declarations along the same lines: Samuel Adams, for example, and James Madison, John Adams, the Northwest Ordinance, Daniel Webster, Abraham Lincoln, etc. These sentiments have led this nation right up to the present. Religion, while being a profound personal influence, inescapably has a public influence as well, transmitting formative values and attitudes that affect what we hold dear as a nation, the moral climate of society, and how we are governed. The citizenry has a right to be trained in religion no less than in other subjects and a right to contribute to the formation of the consensus that motivates society. The citizen, adult and child, is not the creature of the state.

4. *EARLY NATIONAL PERIOD: FORMATIVE FOUNDATIONS*

During the era beginning with Thomas Jefferson's inauguration (1800), several traditions developed in American religion: religious freedom, already established in some of the new states; a relatively distinct separation of church and state; a growing acceptance of denominationalism; the growth of the "voluntary principle" in matters pertaining to church membership and support; and the advance of patriotic piety with its belief in the divinely-appointed mission of the new nation. Less worthy were the attacks on Catholicism, inspired by nativism and including among their targets blacks and Jews as well.

Catholic schooling consisted of attempts at small formative foundations in this period when the church was straitened by poverty and insecurity, teacher shortage, and a scarce and scattered Catholic population. Catholic poverty was alleviated in schools as well as elsewhere by the contributions of European mission groups. It was a step forward that after the American Revolution, Catholics were free to build schools, and this they began to do. Although one school differed from the other in some particulars, a definite pattern was forming. And in the schools, as well as in the church at large, Germans, Irish, and others were having to learn to get along with one another.

One of the most serious complaints about the United States situation at this time, voiced by the church's Councils of Baltimore, pertained to the laws by which some of the states denied the right of the church to possess property. Because of these laws, lay trustees were designated to hold church

property in their names. This resulted in the difficulty called trusteeism, in which some lay officers at times became defiant of the authority of the hierarchy. This sometimes hindered the progress of schools.

Church leaders perceived that Catholics were similar to citizens of other religious persuasions in being inarticulate. An added difficulty for Catholics was that they were still recovering from Colonial legislation against Catholic schooling. Preeminent among the leaders who perceived that the success of the church in the new republic would depend on the establishment of Catholic schools was John Carroll. From a distinguished family and the first Roman Catholic bishop in this country, he set his church on a course that enabled it to expand, to absorb new immigrants, and to establish schools. This was the beginning of a pattern for this country's bishops' interest in schools—a pattern which would come to be taken for granted.

When the westward movement carried Catholics along with others beyond the Alleghenies, the wilderness did not decrease their efforts to provide schools, for which they sacrificed a great deal. A number of Catholic elementary schools of the period were set up in log cabins; church basements, sacristies, and choir lofts; rectory and convent rooms; and abandoned buildings. The goals, determination, leadership, and perseverance of the Catholics of the time set the Catholic pattern of schools again on firm formative foundations.

The goals of this minority group, lost in a Protestant environment were to teach Catholic doctrine, to imbue Catholic youth with the spirit of Christ, and to instill the realization that man is God's: formed in God's image and to be fashioned to God-likeness. The schools did not forget, however, that human beings must live in this world. They sought also to equip students to take their place in society and to present the rudiments of a literary tradition. Judging by the large number of requests of well-to-do non-Catholics to enter some Catholic schools, the schools' emphases must have been considered desirable.

The curriculum to implement this was, as in the other schools of the time, very basic, giving prime importance to

religious instruction but also teaching the rudiments of reading, writing, and ciphering. Religious instruction was a drill "learn by heart" process, a memorization of dry theological formulae through a question-and-answer method that fit the catechisms then in use. Three popular catechisms, then and for some years afterward, were those of Butler and Challoner, and an American translation of *The Catechism of the Council of Trent*. American Catholic authors were a rarity, with pioneer attempts by Father Robert Molyneux in Philadelphia and Father Gabriel Richard in Detroit. Mathew Carey, a Philadelphia layman, published texts for the Catholic schools.

The curriculum of the secondary level was, as evidenced by school prospectuses, classical. Although too rigid a classical curriculum was inadequate for the needs of life in the new republic, no great change from it was evident in boys' curricula. The curricula of the girls' academies, however, had more practical elements. Since woman's place was considered to be in the home, girls were prepared for duties as wives and mothers. Girls' education was first religious and moral, and only then intellectual and cultural. They were to develop habits of regularity, neatness, and order, with an emphasis on manners and deportment. The early Catholic academies had a curriculum in keeping with their aim of producing the ideal Christian woman.

The preparation of teachers, at least up to the time of the Revolution, had been unheard of, and teacher standards, in Catholic as well as in all other schools, were low. Throughout this period and into the next, teacher-sexton and teacher-organist combinations were not uncommon. The priest-teachers in the boys' schools were often learned men, educated on the Continent, and of unrivaled academic ability. They were, however, few in number, and hampered by other duties. Consequently, they developed a system of student-teaching whereby the better students in the more advanced classes taught those in the lower grades. Scarcity of teachers was a problem for all denominations. In that respect, Catholic schools were more fortunate than most others in having groups of religious—dedicated teachers living in community—who gave themselves without considera-

tion of much financial remuneration. The teaching sisterhoods founded during this period were trained by educated priests during the sisters' beginning periods; thereafter they themselves trained their novices within their congregations. The first non-Catholic normal school opened at Concord, Vt., in 1823, while the first state normal school did not open until 1839, at Lexington, Mass.

One of the first communities of nuns dedicated to Catholic schooling to originate in this country was the Visitation Nuns. Another was the Sisters of Charity, which came into being through the zeal of Elizabeth Bayley Seton, a convert to Catholicism and a zealous young widow, and since declared a saint. At the suggestion of Father (later Bishop) Louis William DuBourg, then president of St. Mary's College in Baltimore, in 1808 she went to a little house on Paca Street in Baltimore which DuBourg had prepared for her and her family of two sons and three daughters. Shortly afterwards, she established a convent boarding school for young ladies near Emmitsburg, Md. But, her primary aim was the establishment of free common schools for the poor. She established the first at St. Joseph's Parish, Emmitsburg, on February 22, 1810—attended by non-Catholic as well as Catholic poor. When Seton died in 1821, in her 47th year, her sisters numbered nearly 50 and were rapidly increasing. Many are of the opinion that she laid the foundation for the Catholic school pattern as it eventually evolved in the U.S.

Enrollments of students were small in comparison with the population. An educational consciousness had not yet awakened, and among the citizenry as a whole there was little interest in education. If a student learned to read, write, and cipher (and, especially in the case of Catholics, was versed in religious doctrines), one was considered educated; not to have acquired those skills, however, brought no reproach. The lack of interest was more concentratedly true of the secondary level where, except for free schools for the poor which the church was anxious to establish in each diocese, and which the sisters, charitable organizations, and church collections supported, schooling was expensive and for the richer class. In many cases, sisters were able to conduct

schools for the poor only because of the payment received from their academy pupils.

The principal admission requirements to Catholic academies and colleges for both boys and girls were the ability to read and write, moral integrity, and enough money to pay the tuition fee. Once admitted, the rules of deportment were strict. All schools of the time emphasized polite deportment, uniform dress, propriety, and morality. Catholic schools added religious observance. Boarders were not allowed to leave overnight, and were even encouraged to remain during summer vacations. The administration limited visitors, regulated letter writing, and frowned upon excess pocket money. Though parents wanted such constant watchfulness, there is evidence that the students of that time, making allowances for the era, did not differ from the students of today. Father Stephen Dubuisson of Georgetown College, for example, in 1827 complained of "the want of piety among the boys, the love of dressing, the rage of going out, the ruinous habit of visiting confectioners' shops and the great liberty in reading."[7]

5. *LATER NATIONAL PERIOD: TRANSITION*

Utopianism, revivalism, perfectionism, and holiness made the period of Jacksonian democracy a sectarian heyday. During the decades before the Civil War, the popular Puritan hope for the Kingdom of God on earth led to desires for reform. The historical roots of this humanitarian reform lay, first of all, in the Puritans' basic confidence that the world could be reformed in accordance with God's will, which gave an impetus to the evangelical foundations for the social gospel. Another source of the idea of progress and the prevailing optimism remained the heritage of enlightened rationalism.

One of the areas of reform was schooling. On the principle that the extension of knowledge would dissipate human misery and provide a better day, Enlightenment ideals and the rationale of Harvard's Puritan founders converged. Idealists refused to be satisfied with the fact that even then America's literacy rate was probably unequaled anywhere else in the world. The middle half of the 19th century was the great age of the church college—a time, in fact, when these church-related institutions were virtually coextensive with American higher education.

Clearly outstanding as the age's most effective educational crusader was Horace Mann (1796-1859). Despite his conviction of the need to eliminate sectarian religion in public schools, he was equally convinced that the schools must instill the historic Protestant virtues. William H. McGuffey (1800-73), whose millions of readers helped shape the national mind, forged an even closer bond between schooling and Protestant virtues. The same could be said of the enormously popular works of instruction written by two New

England ministers, Samuel G. Goodrich (1793-1860)—known as Peter Parley—and the prolific Jacob Abbott.

Another relevant phenomenon during this period of the Roman Catholic Councils of Baltimore, from 1829 to 1884, was immigration—a source of tremendous influence on the country's churches, especially the Roman Catholic, as well as on this country's fabled diversity. In 1790, the first federal census had reported a population of close to four million, and 22.3 percent of the white population of this number had stemmed from non-British lands, an additional 700,000 slaves adding a component of African origin. During the next three decades, when Europe was embroiled by the French Revolution and the Napoleonic wars, only 250,000 immigrants arrived. Then the tempo began to accelerate. Troubles in Ireland occasioned the first wave, a great movement of Germans and Scandinavians dominated the next phase, and the "great Atlantic migration" culminated after 1890 in a vast exodus of Eastern European Jews, Southern Italians, Poles, and Balkan peoples.

Before the gates were narrowed, over 40 million immigrants had come to these shores. The influence of these numbers on the churches was inevitable. At the end of the colonial period, three large ecclesiastical blocks, all of them of British background, accounted for at least 80 percent of Americans affiliated with any church: the Congregationalists of New England, the Anglicans of the South, and the Presbyterians in the Middle Colonies. At that time, Roman Catholics and Jews constituted at most 0.1 percent of the population.

The Catholic Church expanded immensely through immigration, embracing also the geographical phenomenon of the westward movement. It was not too long before new dioceses were established and more bishops provided. Other expansion took place through conversions to Roman Catholicism. These conversions were not an unmixed blessing, however, with the country now experiencing the most violent religious discord in its history. Within the Roman Catholic Church, immigration led to active ethnic tensions, particularly among the French, Irish, and Germans.

But conflicts and disagreements even more violent than

those within Catholicism arose from without: the phenomena of American nativism and anti-Catholicism. These had peculiarly American foundations. One was a militant religious tradition, stretching back to the days of Queen Elizabeth I. Another was the Protestant majority view of the United States' special responsibility to realize its destiny as a Protestant nation. Emotional revivalism intensified such views. Finally, anti-Catholicism offered to many a motive for Protestant solidarity.

Political fears exacerbated the situation. Every immigrant ship at a wharf struck fear into the hearts of insecure politicians. To them it seemed that the ideologically-united Irish were dooming decency, order, justice, and sound social principles (translation: "a conservatively structured society"). Finally, there were the economic pressures of those who feared they might lose their jobs with the influx of cheap labor. All of these causes brought anti-Catholic agitation beyond the original Thirteen Colonies and carried anti-Catholic legislation into the national period, the Bill of Rights to the contrary notwithstanding.

The "Protestant Crusade" also gave birth to anti-Catholic publications and horror literature about Roman Catholicism. And the agitation went beyond words. In Boston, after years of mounting tensions, on August 11, 1834, a well-organized group burned the Ursuline convent in Charlestown. In the same years, anti-Catholicism emerged as an intensely relevant political force, with prominent people like Samuel F. B. Morse, inventor of the electric telegraph and portrait painter, playing a prominent role.

Between 1840 and 1842 in New York, the political rift widened further with the school crisis, answered forcefully by the blunt and perhaps pugnacious Catholic Bishop John Hughes—"Dagger John," who served from 1842 to 1864. By 1840, the Public School Society held a virtual monopoly over funds for the common schools, as schools open to the public were then called. The number of Catholic children eligible for elementary school in New York City was about 10,000. The eight parish schools, including that of St. Patrick's Cathedral, all crowded to capacity, were providing for about 5000. A few hundred Catholic pupils attended

public schools, and about half received no schooling at all.

Up to that time—well into the history of the nation—public funds were being given to church-affiliated schools. Hughes claimed that in justice, the parish schools should be given a share of the common school fund, which was raised by the taxation of Catholics as well as Protestants, or in the alternative, that Catholics should at least be exempt from the taxes they were paying into the common school fund. He read a strongly-worded "An Address of the Roman Catholics to their Fellow Citizens of the City and State of New York," objecting to Catholics paying taxes "for the purpose of destroying our religion in the minds of our children." The Public School Society denied all of it. The city's Common Council turned Hughes down. On April 9, 1842, under the influence of Governor William H. Seward, the state passed the Maclay Bill, which extended the common school system of the state to New York City. No school teaching any religious sectarian doctrine was to receive any money from the common school fund and government schools only were to be provided for. The government school, church school dichotomy deepened.

In contrast to the forceful Hughes was the peace-loving Bishop of Philadelphia, Francis Patrick Kenrick. When the Nativists in his city clamored that the United States was a Protestant nation, argued that the Protestant Bible was to continue to be read in the common schools, and threatened violence, Kenrick issued an explanatory and conciliatory statement. His quiet and dignified conduct did not prevent the fact that in May 1844, violence in Philadelphia led to wild and bloody rioting. Two Roman Catholic churches and dozens of Irish homes were burned; militia fired point blank among advancing crowds; a canon was turned against St. Philip Neri church; and for three days, mob rule prevailed in the city and its suburbs. Thirteen people were killed. Ever since, in the face of succeeding confrontations, the advisability of the Hughes or Kenrick procedures have been argued.

In 1849, Charles B. Allen of New York founded a secret "patriotic" society called the Order of the Star Spangled Banner. Politically, the body came to be called the American party, but because of the secretiveness and the frequent

reliance of its members on the answer, "I don't know," they were known popularly as the Know-Nothings. It was a particularization of nativism. With earlier roots and repeated later outbreakings, nativism in the 1840's synthesized into a movement of opposition to minorities on the ground of their being "un-American." Nativism opposed blacks, Catholics, and Jews, asserted Anglo-Saxon superiority, and succeeded in restricting immigration. The Know-Nothing Party flourished in the 1850's primarily in opposition to whatever political power immigrant groups happened to acquire in northern cities. By 1859 its power had waned.

Another important and relevant facet of this period was the many-sided movement of "Romanticism," which in America gained expression under the name of Transcendentalism. The origins of this latter word are mysterious, but the term—whether used in ridicule or not—indicated a concern for the higher use of reason and its objects: the good, the true, the beautiful, and the divine. The spiritual dissatisfaction, which the Enlightenment had created, motivated the quest of this theological philosophy, usually associated with Unitarian circles.

One of the most influential Transcendentalists was Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882), whose greatness as a religious thinker originated with his sense of the current spiritual situation. The revolutionary quality in his unrestrained optimism was an anti-traditional individualism. America, he said, "has no past: all has an onward and prospective look." He was therefore unconcerned with history. All of this made him a new kind of romantic pagan, one who throws from the temple not only the money changers but also such bath water as beliefs, creeds, and rituals. He made self-reliance the cardinal virtue. Americans were specially "elected" to look forward instead of backward, and they would thus be fulfilling the destiny of their country. He became the theologian of what many call "the American Religion."

Although conditions like these forced Catholics to continue to perceive their schools as necessary,such conditions at the same time gave no one the right to expect much of Catholic schools. Nevertheless, Catholic schools continued to contribute, and as industrialization and other influences wrought

changes, Catholic schools accommodated themselves as well as government schools. The fact that most of the church's growth took place through immigration eliminated the possibility of the church's becoming aristocratic and of its schools becoming elitist, as had happened elsewhere.

On schools at least (both government and nongovernment), the influence of the Enlightenment, with its dichotomy between education and manual labor, its opposition to the principle of schooling for the masses, and its consequent disinclination for the lower classes to attend school, began to wane. As this period wore on, it became increasingly obvious that all youth, Catholic included, needed more schooling. The needs of an ever more industrial society for trained personnel increased. Catholic schools were, however, slower than their government counterparts to make necessary curricular changes. When the government schools took positions against religious instruction, though, and it became increasingly obvious that for the first time in history an educational pattern was to be attempted without religion, it became equally clear that the church was going to have to step up its schooling efforts.

The church's elementary schools therefore grew. On the secondary level, the original strain of academies now proliferated as Catholics and others attempted to satisfy the desires of the upper classes. The teaching communities of sisters and brothers increased (each community warranting a volume in itself). Throughout, Catholic goal emphases seemed less and less personal formation and more and more the transmission of culture. Nativist opposition to Catholic culture as "alien" solidified this emphasis. Catholic schooling, along with the rest of the church, changed from a leaven mentality to one of siege.

The church's hierarchy expressed itself first at the Provincial Councils of Cincinnati, conducted for the most part by and for Germans, who from the beginning, for a variety of reasons, constantly demonstrated their favor of Catholic schools. The entire United States hierarchy at the Councils of Baltimore then legislated encouragement and support, which they have continued to reiterate to the present. For the most part, they had a loyal clergy and laity behind them.

The reasons for the hierarchy at that time assuming the leadership and the laity the followership were many. One reason was that the road was not easy, and the church needed strength and unity. For another, the needs of the laity, as of most of the population, made them bread-and-butter oriented; some were divided, timid, and apathetic; and there was opposition from some of their own. Although Catholic parents were beginning to bring legal suits against prejudice (e.g., the *Donahoe v. Richards* case of 1854 in Maine on Bible reading in government schools, which decision, however, backed the compulsory reading of the King James version of the Bible), they were, for the most part, dependent on the hierarchy. And, under the bigotry of some fellow citizens, they truly suffered. Some of the bigotry was in high places and awesome: even from a President of the United States, Ulysses S. Grant, in a speech in 1875, and, in 1876, in the many proposals for a hostile amendment to the Federal Constitution by Senator James Blaine. Variants of the Blaine Amendment succeeded in appearing in many state constitutions.

Official government, however, was generally more fair. On the federal level, the Fourteenth Amendment of 1868 provided all citizens with due process of law to protect their life, liberty, and property. On lower levels, compromise plans to help Catholic schooling as well as local communities were established in such cities as Savannah, Ga., Hartford, Conn., Lowell, Mass., and Poughkeepsie, N.Y. These plans provided for the major part of parochial school funding, especially teacher salaries and building maintenance, to be paid by community taxes. The institutions were called public-parochial schools. Some exist to this day, to the satisfaction and happiness of the local communities, parents, students, teachers, and others involved.

6. GROWTH: IMMIGRATION AT HIGH TIDE

The turn of the century (roughly from 1885 to 1917) was marked by formlessness. A partial explanation for this may be found in the rigors to which the country was subject during this time of rapid change: post-Civil War reconstruction; the revolution in economics; the closing of the frontier; trust regulation; the organization of labor; the rise of the city; American imperialism; the Spanish-American war; and the Progressive Period of reform in politics, social action, and education. This period was a critical one for organized religion. Materialism and its cult of success, pragmatism, naturalism, and hostile extensions of Darwinism permeated the country. The shift in the patterns of immigration which put the Protestant Establishment, already hurt by the Civil War, in a worsened position, led to a revival of the movement to restrict immigration, to a new kind of political machinery, and to new outbreaks of nativism.

Connected with the last phenomenon, just as the Supreme Court reflected the mood of the time in its 1896 decision providing "separate but equal" treatment for blacks, so too the court reflected the populace concerning Catholics. Most of the cases of church-state relationships pertained to schooling. The cases pertained to many areas, were tried in state and federal courts, and did not evidence much consistency. An 1890 Wisconsin decision, for example, contradicted precedents by making it possible for Catholic children to attend government schools without having their religious beliefs disturbed. In 1899, in *Bradfield v. Roberts*, the Supreme Court sustained a federal statute authorizing construction grants to a Roman Catholic hospital corporation (Providence Hospital in Washington, D.C.). The court would

not, however, grant the same latitude to nongovernment schools.

Another matter placed before the courts was the employment of Catholic sisters to teach in government schools. In 1894, the Pennsylvania Supreme Court held that school districts might employ, as teachers, sisters of a religious order of the Roman Catholic Church and permit them while teaching to wear the garb of their order, provided no sectarian instruction was given nor religious exercise engaged in. But both Pennsylvania in 1910 and New York in 1906 upheld statutes forbidding teachers to wear religious garb. Some cases decided that the reading of the Bible in school, even if not compulsory, was unconstitutional as giving preference to Christians over Jews.

In the midst of all this, the Catholic Church grew in power and prestige, relatively speaking, from a former position of subjugation—due in no small measure to immigrants and their fecundity. In schooling, Catholics—following the lead of the government sector—were beginning the formation of organizations to bring their educators together for discussions of problems and possible solutions. The Catholic Educational Association (later to add the adjective "National") was formed in 1904 from previously-existing smaller groups, and other Catholic educational associations formed at around the same time.

Because child labor had finally come to an end and states were legislating compulsory schooling laws with teeth, the school population in both the government and nongovernment sectors zoomed. In Catholic elementary schools, this factor combined with the legislation of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore of 1884 to bring about crowded classrooms and inadequate equipment. The decrees of the council were the culmination of Catholic legislation that had begun as early on as the beginnings of the Republic.

The council decreed that, wherever possible, there was to be a parochial school near every church; priests who did not cooperate were to be removed; laity who did not cooperate were to be reprimanded by the bishop; and, unless other provisions for the religious education of their children were possible, Catholic parents were to send their children

to Catholic schools. The council also voted to increase the number of high schools and to raise the standards of all Catholic schools. It was concerned also with the establishment of Catholic colleges, encouraging wealthy Catholics to give generously for this purpose. How much subsequent growth was due specifically to the council will probably never be accurately determined.

On the middle level of Catholic education, as of its government counterpart, there were striking developments. This period witnessed, for example, the founding of the first Central Catholic High School. But Catholics, as well as the nation at large, had to wait until after World War I for meaningful interest in this level of schooling. In higher education, in the midst of general developments in areas like standardization and supervision, The Catholic University of America came into being in 1889, after the idea had been fought over for many years. It was conceived as not only the apex of Catholic schooling in the United States, but also as the agent to unify and guide it, to raise its standards through a program of affiliation, and to prepare its teachers.

This period witnessed the growth of teacher-training institutions under government auspices, which faced difficulties in areas like experimentation and the problem of quantity versus quality. Among Catholics, the growth of this concept was slower—despite the 1892 plea of papal representative Francesco Satolli for Catholic teachers to acquire state certification, the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore's legislation on proper teacher training, and the public statements of Bishop John L. Spalding, who was influential in the founding of The Catholic University of America.

On the other hand, there was among Catholics, as among others, the inception of professionalism among teachers. Surprisingly, before 1900 when teachers in all schools were limited in their preparation and horizons, there was evidence that Catholic teachers were sometimes better prepared than their counterparts elsewhere. Religious communities attempted teacher preparation through practices like individual instruction, scholasticates, apprenticeships, lectures, summer schools and institutes. There was, however, evidence that they were less prepared for teaching older children and in

the sciences. Girls' liberal arts colleges, like the College of Notre Dame of Maryland in Baltimore and Trinity College in Washington, D. C., whose graduates were likely to teach, started at this time.

During this period, there were developments concerning students in both theory and practice. With regard to the former—i.e., theory—government schools welcomed the introduction from abroad of the ideas of Pestalozzi, Herbart, and Froebel, a factor that would later contribute to the growth of progressive education. In the government schools, there was interest also in the area of tests and measurements movement of Edward L. Thorndike, who held the principle that everything that exists, exists in quantity and can be measured. Schools' "Procrustean Bed" began its demise with the perception of individual differences by such government school leaders as William T. Harris, Charles W. Eliot, and John Dewey. Most of these developments, however, left Catholic educationists in an intellectual ferment. They could not accept the theorists completely: Pestalozzi because of his naturalism; Herbart because of his determinism; Froebel because of his pantheism; progressive education because of what was considered undue permissiveness for the child and a forgetfulness of original sin; or Thorndike because of his empiricism.

Within, there was further ferment because of the Bouquillon controversy on the state's right to educate. In 1890, Archbishop John Ireland gave an address to the National Education Association in which he granted rights in education to the state. No member of the Catholic hierarchy to that time had ever said anything like that. There was vociferous involvement of many people, including famous Catholic bishops, on both sides. In December 1891, Father Thomas Bouquillon, professor of moral theology at Catholic University, published a pamphlet, *Education: To Whom Does It Belong?*, challenging the up-to-then church thinking that the state has only a substitutional right in education. Bouquillon's position clearly substantiated that of Ireland. He wrote that education "belongs to the individual, physical or moral, to the family, to the state, to the Church, to none of these solely and exclusively, but to all four combined in

harmonious working." The state should not, however, decide the particular school an individual should attend.

Within a week, René I. Holaind, S.J., professor at the Jesuit Seminary at Woodstock College, Md., published an answering brochure, *The Parent First*. He claimed that education is essentially the right and duty of the church and the parents. The state enters the field at the bidding of either or both of these. The two pamphlets promoted intense and bitter public discussion, which came to be called "The Bouquillon Controversy." An official statement of papal representative Satolli settled nothing. Pope Leo XIII pleaded for an end to the controversy. Bouquillon's position was vindicated in Pope Pius XI's encyclical on education in 1929.

In the area of practice, Catholic school students comprised several minority groups of immigrants. Immigrants were blamed for many of society's ills, even by government educators. Catholic educators tried to overcome this prejudice by making their students not only Catholic, but also American. For Catholic immigrants, the parish was the unit that was familiar from their places of origin. An integral element, especially among the Germans, was the parish school. This last, like its government school counterpart, could not help but divide the immigrant child's loyalties and separate him to a certain extent from foreign-sounding and foreign-looking parents, but it made the transition slower and therefore, in the light of subsequent research, psychologically more sound.

As the evils of child labor were beginning to be recognized and the extremely slow process of eliminating the practice got underway, it was found that a higher percentage of immigrants' children than others among the total population were working. For them, extensive schooling was out of the question. Another minority group, blacks, did not contain many Catholics. Nevertheless, during this period, religious communities were started both for and of blacks. Also, the Second and Third Plenary Councils of Baltimore had urged attention to the religion and education of blacks.

The effects of Baltimore III were more lasting, because the council urged the laity to participate in work for blacks, established a mandatory nationwide annual collection for

blacks and American Indians, and established a special commission for both. The success of Catholic agencies among Indians created envy and resulted in unfairness, *vis-a-vis* the Catholic Church's Indian schooling program, from the federal government. Continued Catholic interest in the roughly 50 percent of Catholic children not provided for by Catholic schools brought about the adoption of such means of instilling religion as "released-time" programs, whereby government school children whose parents wanted them to attend religious instruction programs in local churches could be released during school hours.

Many Catholic educators theorized about goals, coming up with new and practical phrasings. Curricula were, as usual, related to goals. Out of the controversies about both came a more sophisticated philosophy of Catholic education. But because of Catholic rejection of such innovators as Pestalozzi and Herbart, improvements in Catholic textbooks that could have resulted from accepting the good in these theorists did not materialize, by and large. As a result, some Catholic texts wound up academically inferior to many in government school use. Unfortunately, this same predisposition to reject change and improvement from outside also frequently resulted in poor quality in that area in which Catholic schools found a prime reason for their existence—catechetics, the imparting of religious truths. Rote memorization (not uncommon in all schools of the time in most subjects) of the Catechism of Baltimore III was too frequent. Before the end of this period, however, an awareness of the inadequacy of this procedure grew.

At the end of this period, despite the many reasons for optimism, there was no more unanimity among Catholics *vis-a-vis* the desirability of maintaining their school system than before: the Irish-American, wanting a way out of the ghetto, often tried the public school as the passport; many middle-class Catholics rationalized; many upwardly mobile Catholic immigrants became government school teachers; many good Catholics served on government school boards; and even some priests disagreed as to the desirability of Catholic schools. Among the last, the most famous was Father Edward McGlynn of New York City. He took the

position, still with us, of preferring to put church resources in the cryingly needful area of social welfare rather than in schools.

7. NEW MATURATION: POST-WORLD WAR I TO POST-WORLD WAR II

Running through the currents of the excitements of war, contractions of spirit in the post-world-war periods, Red scares, and economic depressions and regressions as well as booms, was a steady acceleration of growth (economic at least), population movement, and governmental expansion, which gradually brought the country to a state of advanced technocratic crisis. Many came to doubt the old consensus that the "Redeemer Nation" was capable of redeeming anyone. The consensus came to be a wonderment whether the country was capable of saving even itself—from problems like urban rot, environmental pollution, racial conflict, poverty, and ethnic disaffection. Somehow, the United States had become the victim of individualism, exploitation, and world policemanship.

As for religion in schooling, the Supreme Court continued the ambivalent trends of the late 19th century. Its decisions during this period centered around two areas. The first was government aid to nongovernment schools, the bases for decisions of which were the First and Fourteenth Amendments to the Federal Constitution, the "child-benefit" theory, and the state's public welfare duty. The court decided that nongovernment schools have the right to exist and that the state can legally supply nonsectarian textbooks and transportation to their students.

There were memorable dicta in this area. In *Meyer v. Nebraska* in 1923, for example, Justice James C. McReynolds wrote for the majority:

> The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the state to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the state; those who nourish him and direct his destiny have the right, coupled with the high duty, to recognize and prepare him for additional obligations.[8]

Pierce v. Society of Sisters in 1925,[9] also referred to as the *Oregon School Case*, has been called the Magna Carta of parochial schools for defending their right to exist in the school system. The briefs and oral discussion in this case contain just about every possible argument in favor of and in opposition to nongovernment schools. The state of Oregon claimed that the need for any other kind of school than that provided by the state had ceased to exist, that the existence of the nongovernment schools was a fatal menace to the government school system, and that religious schools were divisive and undemocratic, creating for their students a cultural ghetto, and isolating them from everyday living with their fellow Americans. The court ruled to the contrary.

In 1930, the court upheld the constitutionality of a Louisiana law permitting the state to supply textbooks to children, whether attending government or church-affiliated schools, on the grounds that the state may act to achieve a public good, even though in doing so, a private end is incidentally aided.[10] In 1936, the court agreed that to deny members of religious orders the right to contribute their salaries to their religious communities would be a denial of the right of religious liberty guaranteed by the Constitution.[11] In 1938, the New York State Supreme Court rejected the "child-benefit theory," saying that "the classification which excludes such pupils from the State's bounty is not only reasonable, it is commanded by the Constitution itself."[12]

In a 1947 case,[13] the issue was the constitutionality of a New Jersey law permitting the use of public money to pay the transportation costs for pupils in nongovernment schools. The U.S. Supreme Court read into the "due process" clause of the Fourteenth Amendment (which limited only the states) the "establishment of religion" clause of the First Amend-

ment which theretofore limited only the federal government. The case was judged in the light of the First Amendment, the Fourteenth Amendment, and the "child-benefit" theory. The court decided in favor of bus transportation.

The second area of decision was religion in government schools. The court refused to decide a case on Bible reading because the plaintiffs in the case were judged not to have either sufficient standing or sufficient injury to bring the suit. State courts continued to contradict one another on the legality of teaching sisters wearing their religious garb in government schools. The greatest church-state cooperation in schooling came with the Servicemen's Readjustment Act of 1944. Commonly called the "GI Bill of Rights," this legislation enabled the government to pay tuition and other schooling expenses of "GI's" returned from World War II, and later from the Korean conflict, in any school of their choice, even schools of theology.

An important state case resulted from a protest made in 1947 by a group of 28 citizens against the teaching of religion in the government schools of Dixon, N.M. The main issue was that members of religious communities teaching in the government schools were said to be teaching religion in the classrooms through instruction, prayer, the distribution of religious pictures and literature, and pictures and symbols on classroom walls—all forbidden by the New Mexico state constitution. Plaintiffs demanded that all religious teachers be barred from the government schools because of their vows, that the wearing of religious garb by teachers in the classrooms be prohibited, that buildings owned by a church not be used for tax-supported schools, and that parochial school children not be given by the state such auxiliary services as free textbooks and bus transportation. The Supreme Court of New Mexico ruled against the wearing of religious garb by teachers in government school classrooms, but recognized the fact that the vows taken by religious are not inconsistent with teaching in a government school.[14]

A 1952 state case on Bible reading in government schools further contradicted other state cases:

> We consider the Old Testament and the Lord's Prayer, pronounced without comment, are not sec-

tarian, and that the short exercise provided by the statute does not constitute sectarian instruction or sectarian worship but is a simple recognition of the Supreme Ruler of the Universe.[15]

In 1948 in *McCollum*,[16] the Supreme Court outlawed released-time programs for religious instruction on government school premises. In the 1952 *Zorach*[17] case, it allowed released-time programs if the students desirous of religious instruction would leave the government school grounds to go to religious centers for religious instruction or denominational exercises and there was a minimum of administrative cooperation from government schools.

The question of the garb worn by Roman Catholic sisters while teaching in government schools came up again before the Supreme Court of Kentucky in 1956. The court stated:

> While the dress and the emblems worn by these Sisters proclaim them to be members of certain organizations of the Roman Catholic Church and that they have taken certain religious vows, these facts do not deprive them of their right to teach in public schools, so long as they do not inject religion or the dogma of their Church. The garb does not teach. It is the woman within who teaches. The dress of the Sisters denotes modesty, unworldliness and an unselfish life.[18]

Then the court went on to render its decision:

> We find no provisions in the Federal Constitution or of the Kentucky Constitution which are violated by the Sisters teaching while wearing religious garb and emblems, or in donating to their religious order the lion's share of their salaries, or in the various school boards renting buildings from the Roman Catholic Church in which public schools are conducted.[19]

The church's continuing to take seriously its role as an agent of schooling led to several expressions during this period. In 1918, its Code of Canon Law left no doubt about the church's right to educate, and legislated responsibilities accordingly. In 1919, when the National Catholic Welfare Conference (later called United States Catholic Conference) was formed as an arm of the bishops, it included a Department of Education. In contradistinction to NCEA, which

functions as an organization related to the profession of education, USCC's Department of Education serves in an advisory capacity to the hierarchy. Several factors led to the rise to a position of importance of another organization, the Confraternity of Christian Doctrine, which had started in this country in 1902. Among these factors were consideration of the number of Catholic children in government schools, Pius XI's statement *On The Teaching of Christian Doctrine* in 1923, the same pontiff's encyclical on *The Christian Education of Youth* in 1929, his statement *On the Better Care and Promotion of Catechetical Instruction* in 1935, and the establishment of a national center for the Confraternity in 1933.

At the beginning of this era, the conditions of schools were not encouraging. In both the government and nongovernment sector, there were not many students, proportionate to the total youth population, in school; one-room schoolhouses existed in great numbers; there were many untrained and incompetent teachers; and student opportunities for schooling were deplorably unequal. To the nation, the consequent illiteracy and lack of education were a poor basis for the type of democracy that the country's leaders envisioned; the preventable physical deficiencies of youth were expensive in peace and resulted in unfitness for military service in war; and retardation rates were making the United States a nation of sixth graders. The situation led to a reexamination of goals, curricula, and teaching, and to a rejection of progressive education that climaxed after World War II.

In Catholic schools during this time, statistics show a steady growth. In their goals, they opposed the government school search for a pragmatic kind of social efficiency. Catholic schools' declaration of the ultimate goal of education was the same as ever: the formation of the whole person, on a supernatural as well as on a natural plane. As their proximate goal, they sought the formation of persons adaptable to the contingencies of Christian living in this country's democracy. The U.S. hierarchy touched upon this in its Pastoral Letter in 1919 and again in its 1950 pastoral which was entitled, "The Child: Citizen of Two Worlds."

It was a recurring theme at NCEA meetings in the 20's. Pope Pius XI dealt with it in his 1929 encyclical, *The Christian Education of Youth*. After 1938, the Commission on American Citizenship, formed that year, engaged in the matter and defined a social program. And the Secondary School Department of NCEA studied it in 1939.

The Catholic school curriculum during this period, consequent upon its goals, could be given a one-word synopsis: "social." On the elementary level, because of its concern over the dignity and the nonmateriality of man, the Catholic school pattern only gradually and reluctantly accepted the testing and measurement movement of Edward L. Thorndike. It opposed at first the "activity program" and the utilitarian bases of curricular decisions in the government school, but then gradually adapted what was acceptable from the new theorists in the light of Catholic principles, urged on by Msgr. George Johnson of Catholic University.

On the secondary level, financial strain hindered the building of laboratories and the development of vocational training, thus adding to other reasons for the retention of college preparatory curricula. On this level, the introduction of social emphases to the curriculum was more gradual. Common to both levels, there was an attempt to make the catechism come to life. Assisting in this effort were the liturgical movement, psychologically-oriented catechesis, and catechism renewal through a return to the early Christian narrative-historical approach, Christocentrism, the Bible, the kerygmatic method, eye-catching illustrations, and the use of audio-visual materials.

For teachers in general, the time after World War I ushered in a new era in preparation, salaries, admission standards, and inspections. For Catholics, the 20's added to previous programs of teacher training some more on the diocesan level. At the end of the 50's, the sister formation program added new dimensions to the making of a sister-teacher. Throughout the period, the search for a higher level of professional training of teachers in Catholic schools was further motivated by statements of Popes Pius XI and Pius XII. The Catholic school teacher increase was not only qualitative

but quantitative, the quantitative jump during this period being more than 100 percent. Lay teachers were being upgraded, in both numbers and position, coming into their own especially after World War II.

With the growth of child psychology, the student, too, was becoming less the "forgotten person" of Catholic schools. While some government-school educators were opting for a consideration of the "whole child" and not just statistics, Catholic-school educators were continuing their opposition to the current naturalism in interpreting the child. Father Thomas Shields of Catholic University, himself a psychologist trained by Wilhelm Wundt at Leipzig, adapted the best of the growing psychological movement to Catholic schools. Catholic concern for the dignity of the person continued, resulting during the 50's in the beginnings of attention to exceptional children as well as continued attention to such minorities as blacks.

Catholic attitudes toward blacks often followed their neighbors, but Catholics are proud of the many instances of Catholic acceptance of blacks prior to the Brown desegregation decision of 1954. Among these were the schools in Baltimore in the early National Period; the founding of a religious order of black nuns, the Oblate Sisters of St. Francis, in Baltimore in 1825, for poor black children; the failed attempts of Father Charles Nerinckx in 1824; the first schools for blacks near St. Louis, Mo., by Madame Philippine Duchesne and the Religious of the Sacred Heart in 1818; the endeavors of Bishop John England in Charleston, S.C., in the mid-1820's; the "Special Report of the Commissioner of Education,District of Columbia, 1868" praising the D.C. Catholic free schools for blacks.

Concern for the education of blacks was expressed by: the Second Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1866 and the Third Plenary Council in 1884; the establishment of black religious communities like the Oblate Sisters of Providence, the Sisters of the Holy Family, and the Handmaids of the Most Pure Heart of Mary; the work of the Josephites and other orders of priests among blacks, starting after the Civil War; the Franciscan Sisters from Mill Hill, London, England, the only white sisterhood in 1881 devoting itself to work among

blacks; the white Sisters of the Blessed Sacrament, founded in 1891 by Mother Katherine Drexel for school work among blacks; the founding of the Catholic Student Mission Crusade in 1918 to interest Catholic students in blacks; and the founding of Xavier University of Louisiana in New Orleans in 1918 for the education of blacks.

There was also the establishment in 1920 of St. Augustine's Seminary in Bay St. Louis, Miss., to train black candidates for the Society of the Divine Word; the formation of the Catholic Interracial Council by John LaFarge, S.J., in 1934; clergy conferences around the same time for the welfare of blacks; and the 1943 statement of the bishops of the country on the need for equality. Among some individuals who deserve special mention are Cardinal James Gibbons of Baltimore, Archbishop Robert E. Lucey of San Antonio, Tex., Archbishop Joseph Ritter of St. Louis, Mo., Archbishop (later Cardinal) Patrick A. O'Boyle in Washington, D.C., Archbishop Joseph F. Rummel in New Orleans, Bishop Vincent S. Waters in North Carolina, and Cardinal Albert Meyer and Bishop Bernard J. Sheil in Chicago.

Militating against these movements were the bigotry and prejudice of some Catholics and the paucity of black Catholics. Some of the prejudice was deep-seated so that, for example, it was almost impossible for blacks to enter most white religious communities. On the other hand, burned-out schools, churches, convents, and rectories in the South testify to areas where Catholic leaders moved too fast for the local population.

Concerning the education of women, there were among Catholics, as among others, the remnants of a double standard. On the college level, Catholics moved more slowly than others in the direction of coeducation, on the moral grounds of supposed dangers in the mixing of the sexes. On the middle level, they voiced such objections as that each sex has different needs, that coeducation presents moral problems to the adolescent, and that the presence of the opposite sex distracts from study. Pope Pius XI in *The Christian Education of Youth* opposed coeducation, and a further instruction from Rome on the subject in 1957 resulted in high schools that were coinstitutional rather than

coeducational—i.e., presented separate classroom instruction to each sex, but had them share some facilities such as cafeteria, chapel, and library. On the elementary level, U. S. Catholic schools never had any difficulty in having boys and girls together.

8. CONTEMPORARY PERIOD: FERMENT AND CHALLENGE

Conditions

The time from about the Sputnik year of 1957 on mark interesting contrasts with the previous periods. The terms "Post Puritan" and "Post Protestant" began to be applied to the United States in the 1960's. The age of the "WASP" and the age of the melting pot, if there ever was one, began to come to a close. Many terms began to describe the culture of this time, like "secular," "permissive," "the Death of God," and "the great moral revolution." The country was experiencing a basic change in moral and religious attitudes. By 1970, the nation's sense of unity had fallen to its lowest point since 1861. The reverberations of the revolution in the Roman Catholic Church, begun with the election of Pope John XXIII in 1958, were deeply felt in the United States.

A wave of questioning of all traditional structures, such as the parish church, took place. Equally seriously, laymen were finding that they had been forced to divorce their faith from the modes of thought by which they dealt with their life and work in the world. America's "civil religion" was also being subjected to severe criticism. Declining growth rates and widespread budgetary problems revealed a loss to the churches of institutional vitality; in truth, this loss also was experienced by every other institution as well.

For many reasons, youth showed an estrangement from traditional forms of religious nourishment. Sydney E. Ahlstrom summarized these characteristics into three—the first metaphysical, the second moral, and the third social:

49

1. A growing commitment to a naturalism or "secularism" and corresponding doubts about the supernatural and the sacral;
2. A creeping (or galloping) awareness of vast contradictions in American life between profession and performance, the ideal and the actual;
3. Increasing doubt as to the capacity of present day ecclesiastical, political, social, and educational institutions to rectify the country's deep-seated woes.[20]

The spiritual result of all this proved to be enormous. Many critics saw time-honored United States church life as irrelevant to the country's actual condition and to regard church-going America not as a moral leaven but as an obstacle to change. This brought widespread disillusionment even to church ministers, especially those strongly committed to the social gospel. Some Catholics, even those committed to the sacral aim of "saving souls," had grave problems with a Catholic schooling which they saw as producing an intellectual atmosphere in which the traditional faith did not seem to flourish sufficiently.

Statistics show interesting conditions. Catholic school enrollments today constitute a far smaller share of the nongovernment school sector than they did at their high point in the 1960's. In 1965-66, Catholic school enrollments constituted about 87 percent; by 1980-81, this figure had fallen to 63 percent. In 1983-84, with 7,937 Catholic elementary and 1,464 secondary schools (31 fewer than in 1982-83), there was the smallest decline since the 1960's. While Catholic schools have been closing, fundamentalist schools have been opening at the rate of two a day. The 1983-84 enrollment in Catholic elementary and secondary schools was 2,968,000. The 1983-84 full-time faculty in Catholic elementary and secondary schools increased by 453 teachers to 146,913. Nongovernment schools served a larger share of elementary and secondary schooling in 1980 than they did in 1970: 11.1 percent against 10.5 percent. The National Center for Education Statistics predicts that the nongovernment sector will grow to 11.6 percent of the total school enrollment by 1990.

Over 57 percent of all Catholic school pupils are in the Mideast and Great Lakes regions. Ten states account for almost 70 percent of Catholic school enrollment. The first five (New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois, California, and Ohio) comprise almost half (49.9 percent) of the enrollment. In many ways, this simply reflects national population statistics. There are exceptions: notably Louisiana as the 19th most populated state and Wisconsin as the 16th, both with high Catholic school enrollments. Louisiana, Wisconsin, New Jersey, and Massachusetts seem to indicate the influence of early Catholic cultures and history.[21]

Since 1968-69, changes have brought about more Catholic elementary schools than before in urban areas (47.4 percent), about the same in suburban areas (25.2 percent), and fewer in rural areas (27.4 percent). Secondary schools have shown the same general trends. The reason that the percentage of rural schools is smaller is perhaps that rural schools face problems which do not lend themselves to such solutions as consolidation, available to more populated areas.

In 1981, about 89 percent of all Catholic elementary schools had fewer than 500 pupils. Secondary schools were more evenly distributed over various enrollment ranges. Today, an increasing percentage of elementary schools have fewer than 500 pupils, while an increasing percentage of secondary schools exceed 500 pupils. As to ownership, most elementary schools are single-parish schools: about 85 percent. Others are inter-parish, diocesan, or private. Secondary schools are divided differently: single-parish, 14.6 percent; inter-parish, 11.4; diocesan, 35.5; and private, 38.5. Parish elementary schools are supported mainly by parish subsidies (46 percent) and tuition (43 percent); the remainder comes from fund-raising efforts, volunteer work, contributed services from religious communities, and voluntary contributions.

There has been a spate of criticism of U. S. schools, government and nongovernment, which has not let up—at least with regard to fulfilling completely and efficiently all the responsibilities that society has thrust upon them. Criticism of Catholic schools began before "Sputnik" with, for example, Msgr. John Tracy Ellis' 1955 article questioning the ex-

tent of Catholic intellectual life, a theme taken up by many others. Among solutions proposed have been suggestions to abandon Catholic schools and concentrate efforts solely on religious education; to opt for a complete restructuring of the existing system; to drop some levels, leaving the agonizing problem of which; and to merge schools instead of closing them, in order to prevent, as far as possible, student loss.

Curricula

Just as New Testament times had to distinguish true Christianity from Hellenism and other then-current opposed modes of thought, everyone involved in the Catholic school enterprise should be able to differentiate between the true teachings of their church and the variants, heresies, and influences that are subtly inimical to what they stand for. Catholic schools should have the ability to discern what is valuable in current curricular theories and incorporate it into their schools: in New Testament times, the Christian curriculum reflected the best of the Hebrews, Greeks, and Romans; St. Augustine later referred to the proverb of "spoiling the Egyptians" to mean that the Christian curriculum should take the best from non-Christian sources and leave the rest.

Catholic school curricula are in some ways similar to their government counterparts. For example, in formulating curricula, both have difficulties commensurate with their problems in arriving at and defining goals. Also, both perceive the need for sex education, both have at times introduced it, and both have experienced opposition, even from parents who do not assume their responsibilities in its regard. Many of the textbooks in secular subjects are also the same, especially those provided by government. Studies have, however, revealed biases in some government school texts with particular reference to Jews and Catholics.

As for that which specifically makes Catholic schools different from government schools—religion—there is a variety of approaches. Some schools are of the opinion that religion should permeate the entire curriculum. Others view parish schools as part of the entire faith community, into which

52

religious curricula should be integrated. Still others prefer to view the integrity of each subject, including religion, on its own merits, with its own academic criteria. Unfortunately, there remain some in this last category who treat religion as a mere add-on to what government schools are doing, an add-on whose handling they have not at times thought out sufficiently. Fortunately, though, there has been a great improvement in religion texts. These frequently combine doctrine, visual aids, and activities in ways that are educationally professional in including good learning theory in curriculum development.

Goals

Goals should be especially precious to the Christian school: what had been for Greek education the *morphosis* of human personhood became for New Testament times and thereafter the more profound *metamorphosis*; for early Christians their religion's invitation to God-likeness was precious. For Catholics, of course, the practical application of immutable goals to the ever-changing present is an ongoing search. Granting that the definition of education involves the harmonious development of all man's potentialities, where should the goal emphasis be: intellectual, moral, or somewhere inbetween? Or should the emphasis, like Vatican II, eschew Thomistic analysis and simply assert a list of principal aims that differentiate Catholic schooling from all others by training in a specific kind of relationship with God?

Students

If there is any one area in which Catholic schools preeminently differ from the rest of the world, it is in their attitude and conduct toward students. These reflect Christianity's elevation of the dignity of humankind and the worth of the individual. They consider the person as the image and glory of God. Some current theories other than Christian, like all such theories throughout history, make man a higher type machine or animal. More often, they make man the measure of all things and consider him to

be autonomous and with no relevance to God. Catholic school theories point students to God and make them realize they are theonomous rather than autonomous; aspiring to be "superman" has definite limitations.

Catholic schools admit and work with those the Bible calls the *anawim*, those who are voiceless, powerless, and unacceptable in society: "as long as you did it for one of these, the least of my brethren, you did it for me." Catholic schools teach that the virtues of the good life are not the reward of work, or even the way to salvation, but rather the fruits of a life permeated by divine grace.

There is much evidence that the student continues to receive the benefit of the church's vision of the dignity of the person. Throughout the contemporary period, Vatican Council II—especially in such documents as the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World*—as well as statements of the popes and many bishops, have brought this home to the modern mind. New insights are being applied to the education of the handicapped. Appropriate to the times, there are some provisions for the gifted.

And Catholic school efforts and success in inner-city schools are beyond dispute.[22] James S. Coleman and Andrew Greeley provide statistical evidence to show, for example, that Catholic high schools are more economically efficient and educationally effective than are government high schools, and that Catholic high school students acquire superior academic achievement. They attribute the latter to Catholic schools' academic curriculum; requirements of more courses in mathematics, science, and foreign languages; more time on homework; and fewer disciplinary problems.[23]

Some preconceptions of inner-city Catholic schools contain erroneous notions: e.g., families who send their children there constitute an elite stratum, they are motivated solely by sectarian concerns, they seek a white haven against blacks; they are attracted by family tradition. None of these preconceptions holds up. The data show that among the motives for sending children to Catholic schools are the desire for a disciplined environment and the wish for children to secure moral and religious values. There is no

evidence that there is any mass movement to provide havens for whites trying to escape their social responsibilities. Certainly Catholic schools that have been established for any substantial period have not provided such a haven.

Catholic schools have been enrolling an increasing number of non-Catholic students.[24] The percentage of non-Catholics increased from 2.7 percent in 1969-70 to 10.6 percent in 1982-83; the 1982-83 percentage in secondary schools increased to 11.2 percent. Much of this is the church's contributions to blacks. Also, a small "new immigration," mostly to cities, has comprised such mostly Catholic minorities as Puerto Ricans and Mexicans. With American Indians, there is evidence that, whereas much of the U. S. has separated them from family, culture, and self, Catholic schools have provided some schools and catechetical centers with more success.

A typification of the best in Catholic inner-city schools could perhaps be the K-through-8 St. Francis de Sales elementary school in Roxbury, Mass., a predominantly black and poor section of Boston. Its 160 pupils are black and 90 percent are non-Catholic. The school, surrounded by housing projects and vacant lots, is a model of correct deportment. The school's annual per-pupil cost is $1200, only one-fifth that of Boston's government schools.[25]

In these urban schools, the larger dioceses have, with outstanding effort, kept the schools open for minorities. The ability to continue has been complicated by the explosion of many factors within the system, e.g., the large declines in the number of religious community members, inflation, the increase in lay teacher salaries, the movement of many people to the suburbs. Also, Christian doctrine turns off some ethnic groups and is culturally acceptable to others, e.g., the black, Indian, and Oriental races have not historically embraced the Catholic religion, while the Spanish have. Even with these factors, the percentage of ethnic minority students in Catholic schools increased from 10.8 percent in 1970-71 to 18.4 percent in 1980-81, and to 20.4 percent in 1982-83.

55

Teachers

Catholic school teachers, including the non-Catholics among them, historically have had a respect for the church and its teachings. They have been leaders with imagination and courage in applying Christian principles to current socio-economic and other problems, and have to a preeminent degree possessed such important teacher virtues as charity, patience, and commitment. In the modern period, Vatican II and the recent popes convey an awareness of the importance of teachers. John Paul II, for example, referring in part to scripture and Vatican II, said that teachers

> carry out one of the most important tasks of the church and of society...have accepted a special responsibility given by parents...create the future and give it direction by offering...a set of values...(make their students) ever more conscious of the gift of faith...that (students) may be prepared to live their personal lives according to a new nature in justice and holiness in truth so that they may reach perfect maturity, the measure of the fullness of Christ.[26]

In 1984, NCEA sent a 260-item questionnaire to 1062 full-time teachers in 45 Catholic high schools that constituted a representative sample of all U.S. Catholic high schools. Of the total, 56 percent was Catholic lay; 19 percent non-Catholic lay; 3 percent priests; 18 percent women religious; and 4 percent men religious. The majority held positions on most social issues which would be consistent with the public positions of the American Catholic hierarchy. They were more likely than Catholics in general to support the nuclear freeze, favor the Equal Rights Amendment, and favor a ban on abortion. They did not give the issues of peace and social/economic justice priority in their lives (perhaps explaining why only about one out of four teachers claimed to be succeeding in helping students become more sensitive to the claims of social justice). In most value areas, lay teachers were not dramatically different from religious teachers, and all were more religiously committed than the average Catholic.[27]

Unfortunately, the short supply of teachers for both the government and nongovernment sectors has at some times and in some places led to the acceptance of substandard qualifications. There has been the relatively new phenomenon of strikes. It would be heartening if one could say that all Catholic school teacher strikes were for better parental cooperation or other conditions that benefited their pupils more than or as much as themselves, but such has not been the case. Modern nurses, confronted with controversial issues, frustrating working conditions, and professional paradoxes, have protested for better patient care much more publicly than teachers for students. And Catholic school teachers have sometimes absorbed, at times from secular training, the very positions and attitudes which historically inspired sacrifices for establishing and maintaining Catholic schools: empiricism, for example, and relativism, form over substance and process over content, a predilection for "methods" courses, solipsism, naturalism, materialism, and positivism. In turn, they have at times unwittingly reflected some of these positions in their teaching.

The situation has been complicated by such problems as low salaries and good opportunities in business. Some problems seem more applicable to government schools than Catholic, like the difficulty of innovation and experimentation in the bureaucracy. Others are specifically Catholic, e.g.,shortage of teaching religious personnel because of lack of vocations, the numbers leaving religious communities, communities entering such other work as social service as an apostolate in preference to teaching, and the financial burdens of the higher salaries required by the increased proportion of lay teachers.

The lay staff now has come to hold almost the same majority that religious sisters, brothers, and priests held in the 1960's: in fall 1983, on the elementary level, the lay teaching staff was 78.8 percent; on the secondary level, 74.3 percent. Overall, this has not resulted in any less Catholicity, despite the misgivings of some parents. Effectiveness in that regard is measured by the nature of the goals and the extent to which they are successfully implemented. And teacher effectiveness has been facilitated by improved teacher-student

ratios: on the elementary level, in 1968-69 it was 31.3 to one; in 1983-84, it was 22.1; on the secondary level, the ratios for the same years were 19.2 and 16.3 respectively.

Secondary Agents of Education: Family, Church, State

Catholic schools are called upon by their New Testament witness to the Holy Family to give special attention to the role of the parents, home, and family. In a long line of reminders of Catholic adherence to that principle, Vatican II declared that parents are "the first and foremost educators of their children." But modern times have brought problems. The retreat from the home caused by two working parents and broken marriages has unfortunately applied to Catholics as well as to others. Other current family trends lessen parental involvement in education and schooling, such as decreasing parental self-confidence regarding child-rearing, suburban family problems like increasing violence within the family, and an increased variety of family structures.

Vatican Council II, bringing the 2500 bishops of the world together in Rome from 1962 to 1965, addressed the church's agency in education through such documents as its *Declaration on Christian Education* and the *Pastoral Constitution on the Church in the Modern World.*[28] Characteristic of the church's post-Vatican II attitudes are openness to the contemporary scene and modern culture, less rigidity, and more dialogue with the world. The U. S. bishops' statement on Catholic education on November 16, 1967, contained applications of Vatican II as well as words of encouragement to hard-pressed Catholic educators.

The difficulties of both government and nongovernment schools have become so overpowering as to make necessary some requests for further financial assistance from the most powerful of the agents of education, the state. On the federal level, the legislative branch seems more in touch with the grass roots of the country than some local levels. The National Defense Education Act of 1958 unprecedentedly gave loans (not grants) to fulfill its provisions in church-related

middle level schools. It was renewed in 1961 and broadened in 1964. The Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965 was the first to include nongovernment as well as government school children in its massive aid program, which consisted of $1.3 billion to start.

This "Johnson Act," as it was called after President Lyndon B. Johnson who steered it through, cleverly met the two most frequent traditional objections to government aid to church-related schools: violation of the First Amendment and undercutting of the prestige of the government school. The bill gave aid only for secular subjects and enhanced the prestige of government schools by making them the sole recipients of the funds to be distributed through them to others who merited them. The beneficiaries of the act are *children*, not schools, and the act was intended for those who are in one way or another underprivileged. Catholic schools fulfill compulsory state schooling requirements, and most states have minimal legislation on admission, expulsion, curriculum, teachers, buildings, and equipment. Some states are currently providing more financial assistance than in the past.

In the judicial branch of the federal government, there has been an increase in court cases. This has been, for one, because of growth in Catholic sophistication resulting in the refusal to take lying down what Catholics used to. There also has been a continuance of subtle hostile prejudice from pressure groups, but less prejudice from the total population. In fact, polls show that the general population more and more favors Catholic schooling, though not understanding completely what it is about—perhaps indicating a need for Catholic school public relations campaigns.

The Supreme Court's hard-to-understand confusions and self-contradiction continue. Despite its 1930 decision permitting the state to grant textbooks to parochial school students, the court reversed itself in 1961.[29] Intertwined throughout its decision was the argument that in a sectarian school, religion permeates the teaching of every subject, including the secular. Paradoxically, in the same year, the court seemed to ignore the permeation argument in finding constitutional the concept of Sunday as a day of rest.[30] Even

though the Sunday legislation satisfied the religious needs of a portion of the community as well as providing a secular purpose in a uniform day of rest, the court's refusal to characterize the existing Sunday laws of Maryland, Massachusetts, and Pennsylvania as establishments of the Christian religion veered from absolute separation of church and state — a realistic attitude.

The court also declared unconstitutional a New York state regents' recommendation that at the beginning of each school day, government school students recite a nondenominational prayer which said, "Almighty God, we acknowledge our dependence upon Thee, and we beg Thy blessings upon us, our parents, our teachers, and our country."[31] For the court, Justice Hugo Black held that the matter was a violation of the First Amendment's establishment clause because the prayer was composed by government officials. Neither the nondenominational nature of the prayer nor the fact that a pupil could refrain from reciting it changed the decision of unconstitutionality. To a heatedly opposed citizenry, it seemed that the court was preferring non-belief over belief.

Nevertheless, the court continued to declare unconstitutional any officially sponsored reading of the Bible and/or recitation of the Lord's Prayer at the beginning of the government school day.[32] Justice Tom Clark characterized Americans as a religious people, but asserted the absolute equality before the law of belief and non-belief. Because Clark seemed to confine religion exclusively to the individual, the home, and the church, many citizens objected that this decision did not adequately take into consideration the social nature of religion or the educational rights of parents, which rights are by nature to come before those of the state and of the church.

The court acknowledged that the government may "not establish 'a religion of secularism' in the sense of affirmatively opposing or showing hostility to religion, 'thus preferring those who believe in no religion over those who do believe'."[33] It further indicated that the Bible could be studied for its literary and historical benefits in the government schools "when presented objectively as a part of a

secular program of education." Among the violent reactions following these decisions were movements to amend the Constitution, suggestions of substitute programs involving teaching *about* religion rather than teaching religion itself, and the out-and-out refusal of many to obey the court's ruling.

The Supreme Court has overturned itself in hundreds of cases in all areas of law.[34] Its 1968 *Flast v. Gardner*[35] decision, for example, overturned the 1923 *Frothingham v. Mellon*[36] decision. *Frothingham* had declared that the individual taxpayer lacks standing in court to challenge how federal funds are spent, but *Flast* granted that right. Also in 1968, in the "New York Textbook Case,"[37] the U. S. Supreme Court ruled constitutional a New York state law granting a loan of textbooks to private school pupils. In 1971, the court disapproved the "purchase" of certain "secular educational services" from nongovernment schools in Pennsylvania and Rhode Island.[38] As a result of the decision, a drastic rearrangement of Catholic and other parochial schools had to begin. For one thing, tuitions had to go up, and poorer parents were simply unable to afford it. Evangelist Billy Graham urged government aid to unsegregated "religious-oriented" schools to help counterbalance the "materialistic, atheistic teaching" in government schools. Some Jewish groups adopted similar stands.

The *Wisconsin v. Yoder* case of 1972 was different.[39] Amish daily life and religious practice are in response to their literal interpretation of the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans: "Be not conformed to this world." They object to higher education generally as a "worldly" influence and believe that high school endangers their salvation by tending to emphasize accomplishments, self-distinction, competitiveness, worldly success, and social life.

Amish society emphasizes a life of "goodness" rather than a life of intellect, wisdom rather than technical knowledge, community welfare rather than competition, and separation from rather than integration with worldly society. They believe all this to be particularly crucial in the high school adolescent period of religious development, so they keep their children out of traditional high schools. Jonas Yoder

61

and other Old-Order Amish were convicted of violating Wisconsin's compulsory school attendance law by declining to send their children to any school after they had graduated from the eighth grade. The court sustained their claim that applying to them the Compulsory School Attendance Law violated their rights under the free exercise clause of the First Amendment. (It will be interesting to see if this decision holds up in the long run.)

In 1973, the court outlawed New York tuition tax credits as unconstitutional.[40] In the complicated case of *Meek v. Pittenger* of 1975,[41] the court found that the direct loan of instructional materials and equipment other than textbooks to nongovernment schools authorized by Pennsylvania law had the unconstitutional primary effect of establishing religion because of the predominately religious character of the schools benefiting from the act.

The principles applied by the courts to higher education have differed from those applied to elementary and secondary schools. The court has explained that this is because of the increased maturity of students in colleges and the consequent decreased danger of indoctrination. Others have said it is because more colleges were founded by Protestants, more lower schools by Catholics. In any case, the court has consistently declared the constitutionality of federal funds for church-related colleges.[42]

Current tendencies, however, seem to be in the direction of an "accommodation principle" to religion. Strict separation of church and state has given way to the accommodation of religion in both legislatures and courts—the Supreme Court rendered the surprising decision, for example, that the use of tax money for a Christmas nativity scene was permissible.[43] This decision refused to use strict scrutiny standards in assessing the "religious effect" of the creche. In its important 1983 accommodation decision as applied to schooling, *Mueller v. Allen*, the court came to see that the "wall" of separation between church and state is a useful metaphor, but is not an accurate description of the reality. The Constitution, the court saw,

> does not require complete separation of church and state; it affirmatively mandates accommmodation, not

62

merely tolerance, of all religions, and forbids hostility toward any. Anything less would require the "callous indifference"...that was never intended by the Establishment Clause.[44]

In *Mueller*, the court for the first time explicitly recognized that states may "conclude that there is a strong public interest in assuring the continued financial health of private schools, both sectarian and nonsectarian." Consequently, the court declared constitutional the plan which permitted parents of Minnesota school children to deduct from their taxes expenses incurred in providing "tuition, textbooks, and transportation" for their children. The statute applied only to Minnesota, and involved only a relatively small amount of money.

Legislators in Wisconsin and New Jersey have introduced tax-deduction legislation similar to the Minnesota plan. If less effort has been expended in other states with high church school enrollments, it is perhaps because interested parties have been concentrating on the tuition tax-credit proposal of President Ronald Reagan and because of variations in the economy. Such aid schemes as the tuition tax credit proposals now before the federal legislature may be unconstitutional because they benefit only parents of nongovernment school children. (The NCEA has proposed a modification of the Reagan tuition tax-credit bill to permit parents of government school children to benefit.) Broader-based schemes like vouchers, on the other hand, may be constitutional, because their benefits extend to all school children.

In another case, the court has recognized that nongovernment schools which violate "fundamental public policy," such as segregation, cannot receive government largesse.[45] Though on its face that seems to represent common sense, it does raise questions about the state regulation of nongovernment schools: how much government interference would be tolerable? Some of the areas in which nongovernment schools want to retain control are the determination of their own philosophy, the design of their curriculum, the choice of teaching materials, and the admission and deportment of students. These questions become

63

urgent in light of the current pressure of Christian fundamentalists to have state regulations governing their schools declared unconstitutional on grounds of religious liberty.

In *Mueller*, the court refused to consider the actual effect of the Minnesota program on government and nongovernment schools *as a whole*. They justified this refusal by noting that government school parents as well as nongovernment school parents could take advantage of the tax-deduction program. The court's apparent shift set out in *Mueller* is perhaps attributable to the court adopting two new perspectives on the state's relationship to nongovernment schools. First, they saw the danger of political divisions along religious lines as remote, "and when viewed against the positive contributions of sectarian schools" seems an "entirely tolerable" risk. Instead of viewing the relationship of church and state as necessarily divisive, the court sensibly noted that "(a)t this point in the 20th century we are quite far removed from the dangers that prompted the framers to include the Establishment Clause in the Bill of Rights."

Secondly, the court stressed the positive role that nongovernment schools play:

> Parochial schools...have provided an educational alternative for millions of young Americans;...afford wholesome competition with our public schools;...relieve substantially the tax burden...The State has, moreover, a legitimate interest in facilitating education of the highest quality for all children within its boundaries, whatever school their parents choose for them.[46]

This recognition of the positive secular role of nongovernment schools rebuts much of the "pervasively sectarian" doctrine of taint that was the basis of the previous invalidations of state efforts to provide materials or services to nongovernment schools.

At the present time, three values underlie the First Amendment's establishment clause: neutrality, religious accommodation, and separation. Neutrality means that the government must treat all religions in a similar manner. Accommodation recognizes the inevitability of some contacts between government and religion, as well as the propriety of

some of these contacts. Separation seeks to prohibit government from favoring religion over irreligion or vice-versa, thus ensuring the integrity of both church and state.

To determine whether a particular statute is constitutional, the court has developed a three-pronged test: "First, the statute must have a secular legislative purpose; second, its principal or primary effect must be one that neither advances nor inhibits religion; (and) finally, the statute must not foster an excessive government entanglement with religion."[47] If any of these elements is not satisfied, the court will find the statute unconstitutional. Either as part of its mystifying inconsistency in interpreting this tripartite standard or as part of its new tendency toward the accommodation of religion, the court has come to note that "the wall of separation that must be maintained between church and state 'is a blurred, indistinct, and variable barrier depending on all the circumstances of a particular relationship'."[48] The tripartite test in particular cases therefore seems to resemble more a merely helpful signpost than a set formula. The secular effect and entanglement prongs are especially difficult.

Just where the court will go in the future is not certain. Much will depend on replacements of justices now aging or ailing. It is no longer mere legal principles and precedents that determine decisions, but the social sciences introduced by legal "realists," who argue that an understanding of decisions can be enhanced by disciplines like psychology and sociology. Some theorists like Judge Richard Posner add economics to the sciences needed for legal decisions. He, together with such social science-minded scholars as former Chicago Law School Professor and now D. C. Circuit Court of Appeals Judge Antonin Scalia, Yale's Ralph Winter, Jr., and former Solicitor General Robert Bork, are among current candidates being mentioned for the Supreme Court.

As this is being written, the Supreme Court has agreed to consider other key church-state issues that pertain to schools. One case will put to another test the court's apparent trend of loosening "establishment clause" standards. This case raises the significant issue of whether it constitutes a *per se* violation of the establishment clause for Grand Rapids, Mich., to provide secular, supplementary instructional ser-

vices to church school students on premises leased from church-affiliated schools under conditions of government school control.[49] The issue is, in other words, whether a government school system can assist parochial schools by sending teachers into the church-affiliated schools to teach enrichment and remedial classes. The "shared-time" program in Grand Rapids is similar to parochial aid programs the court has struck down in the past.

Another case will decide the constitutionality of an Alabama law that permits a moment of silence each government school day for "meditation or voluntary prayer."[50] Still another will decide the constitutionality of a Connecticut law that requires employers to give their religiously-observant employees a day off on the Sabbath. The State Supreme Court declared the law unconstitutional on the grounds that it impermissibly elevated religious reasons above all other reasons.[51] And another Christmas creche case will decide whether Scarsdale, N.Y., can be required to permit a local group to erect a nativity scene in a public park.[52]

9. CONCLUSIONS

From many points of view, education is essentially religious. It has to do with defining the good—the good person, the good life, the good society—and so is moral in character. Also, both religion and education deal with the underlying nature of reality. And Catholicism is an historically-proven counterbalance to self-centered pride, self-serving ideologies, materialism, and excesssive rationalism. Putting Catholicism and education together in Catholic schools is therefore an enterprise eminently worth fighting for.

But there are potholes on that glory road. From within, the uniformity of the pattern of Catholic schools is today more dissipated than before. It is necessary to determine the degree of Catholicity of each "Catholic" school. One can no longer take for granted that schools called St. John's or St. Mary's are Catholic, but must ask, "*which* school, and *when*?" While it is true that government schools need the nongovernment sector to challenge them, it is also true that Catholic schools need government and other schools for the same reason. Both remain necessary for the good of the country. In view of their glorious history, Catholic school students, parents, contributors, and workers, along with the general public, today deserve a measure of effort in behalf of Catholic schools comparable to that of the past.

In the fray, some Catholics seem still to want to rely upon their hierarchy as in the past, but that historical situation, for a variety of reasons, can no longer exist, and should not. Interested laity must recognize the need, in the U.S. political process, that they create a proper climate for action. One need is for scientific research studies on a national level. Two massive studies were *Catholic Schools in Action*, by the

67

University of Notre Dame, and *The Education of Catholic Americans*, under the auspices of the National Opinion Research Center at Chicago.[53] Among other studies were the NCEA symposium in 1967, "Blueprint for the Future," and those done by Notre Dame's Office of Educational Research on some dioceses. NCEA has put together such other research projects as its 1984 study of a national sample of 8,000 adolescents and 10,000 of their parents from 13 organizations. A prohibiting factor for the kinds of national studies that are needed is high cost.

A good model of what they should do next is connected with the Supreme Court's 1954 *Brown* desegration decision. This declared that separate facilities for blacks are inherently unequal, thus providing for blacks *de jure* equality and overturning the 1896 *Plessy* decision declaring the propriety of "separate but equal" facilities for blacks. Before that happy result could be brought about, the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) and other astute organizations diligently saw to it that other, carefully selected cases had worked their way up through the courts and set proper precedents to make the *Brown* decision possible.

Other countries that have borrowed the exact wording of the U.S. Constitution have interpreted the "no establishment" and "free exercise" of religion clauses more in favor of equal treatment of church-affiliated schools than the U.S. Supreme Court has. In Australia, for example, whose 1898 Constitution copied that of the United States almost verbatim, the High Court in a critical 1981 decision had no difficulty whatsoever in forthrightly deciding that equal treatment, financial and otherwise, for church-affiliated schools is constitutional. It noted that "establishing a religion involves the entrenchment of a religion as a feature of and identified with the body politic," and prudently observed that "a law which establishes a religion will inevitably do so expressly and directly and not, as it were, constructively."[54] Even an authoritarian country like Liberia, which also adopted many of the features of the U.S. Constitution, has no difficulty in interpreting its provisions to provide substantial benefits to church-affiliated schools. In the United States,

unique historical backgrounds and different cultural foundations are obviously present.

In France, where the socialist Mitterand government tried to decrease government financial aid to nongovernment (principally Catholic) schools, one million people demonstrated against it—successfully—in Paris. When the socialist government of Spain tried to do the same, about 750,000 marchers braved cold wintery showers to demonstrate forcefully their protest.[55]

Catholics, and citizens in general, have the option of following either of the two roads exemplified in the history of our country. One is the high road of developing the Pledge of Allegiance's "one nation under God," of living up to their coins' declaration that "In God We Trust," and of celebrating the brotherhood of humankind under the fatherhood of God. The other is the low road of bigotry and prejudice. We cannot follow the high road unless we make true parental choice in schooling realistically possible and introduce youth at the time of their intellectual development to God our Father.

Many of those who choose the high road sometimes appear, in the face of seemingly real opportunities for a government funding of church-affiliated schools based upon justice, to fall short of the courage of their ancestors. In the face of strong lobbying opposition from the government school establishment, they lose nerve and momentum, usually at the last moment, up to which time the polls and legislative votes are overwhelmingly in their favor.

Why bother? Why not relegate the religious aspect of education to the home and church rather than include the school? Why not rather have everybody get behind the government schools and improve them? Because that kind of dichotomy between religion and the rest of life does not harmonize with the nature of the person. Because the compartmentalization of life is not possible from any academically respectable anthropological, sociological, psychological, or other point of view. Because the child comes away from that kind of situation thinking that religion is a *solely* private and personal affair, with no social consequences or significance.

Further, religion should not be relegated to the home and

69

church and omitted from the school because that gives the child the impression that religion is unimportant—all the important items being covered by the school curriculum, because that kind of education is superficial and gives short shrift to providing insights into the meaning of life, because that procedure would in the long run be harmful to the country at large, and because that kind of procedure lacks the challenge and friendly competition—as well as cooperation and interaction—that any large enterprises like the government school establishment and the church-affiliated school pattern need for their betterment.

The fact of history remains that educationally, the United States is unique. Much of that uniqueness, like universal and free education, is extremely praiseworthy. Some is not. Among the latter is the phenomenon that the U.S. remains the only country in the Western world that intentionally prohibits the presence of any religion other than the secular in its government schools and at the same time makes it difficult to the point of impossibility to establish and maintain on an equal financial footing nongovernment schools which average parents can freely choose for their offspring and in which the average student can receive religion in schooling. C. S. Lewis' statement on another matter could have been written of this predicament:

> Such is the tragi-comedy of our situation—we continue to clamor for those very qualities we are rendering impossible...We laugh at honour and are shocked to find traitors in our midst. We castrate and bid the geldings be fruitful.[56]

70

SUMMARY

1. Catholic schooling in the United States is a phenomenon of which all can be proud. It has made tremendous contributions to the country as well as to the church, including the heroism of religious, the sacrifices of laity, many "firsts," and unsung leaders.
2. The beginnings of United States Catholic schools had their prologue in Europe. Immigrants brought not only a desire for religious liberty, but also a popular piety and devotional life that obliterated many of today's distinctions between the sacred and the secular; for them "the sky hung low" and the church had a dynamic life in this world and not just in a world to come.
3. In the colonial period of transplantation, Catholic efforts at schooling, education, and civilization began in New Spain and in New France long before there were any schools in New England.
4. It was, however, the 13 British colonies along the Atlantic coastline that set the pattern for the future development of what became the United States. Their outlook on life was unmistakably influenced by a Puritan ethos, to which movements like the Great Awakening gave vigor. The Age of Reason's faith-excluding "Enlightenment" provided another base for the unfolding country. In this milieu, Catholics were an insignificant and powerless minority.
5. The end of the Colonial Period provided the legacy of the ingenious United States Constitution, the results of both Christian and Enlightenment influences. The interpretation of its First Amendment as applied to schools has constituted about 95 percent of church-state issues. It reads: "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof."

71

6. The Early National Period (about 1783 to about 1828) gave rise to traditions that were formative of the country: religious freedom; a relatively distinct separation of church and state; the "voluntary principle" of church membership and support; and the advance of patriotic piety. Less worthy were attacks on Catholicism. But despite hostility, poverty, trusteeism, the wilderness of the frontier, and other difficulties, Catholics began schools that constituted, if not a system, a pattern. Bishop John Carroll and his successors took an interest in schools that would continue and come to be taken for granted. Teachers were few and often as poorly prepared as their government school counterparts. Religious communities like St. Elizabeth Seton's Sisters of Charity dedicated themselves to teaching in Catholic schools. Curriculum was basic. The goal was to imbue Catholic youth with the spirit of Christ and fashion them to God-likeness.
7. The Later National period (about 1829 to about 1884) was one of transition. It gave rise to humanitarian reform for the nation, one aspect of which was government schools. For the church, it was the period of the Councils of Baltimore, further growth through great immigration, and geographical expansion of dioceses through the westward movement. It also saw increases in anti-Catholicism, applications of which to Catholic schools were fought forcefully by Bishop John Hughes of New York and more peacefully by Bishop Francis Patrick Kenrick of Philadelphia. These conditions prevented Catholic schools from becoming elitist as had happened elsewhere. Catholics, perceiving that for the first time in history a government-sponsored educational pattern was to be attempted without religion, redoubled their efforts at their own schools. Some public-parochial schools were established, in which the major part of parochial school costs were paid by community taxes.
8. The period from roughly 1885 to 1917 was critical for organized religion because of such phenomena as materialism and its cult of success, pragmatism, naturalism, and hostile extensions of Darwinism. The high tide of immigration caused not only new outbreaks of nativism, but growth in the number of Catholics and their schools. Decrees of the Third Plenary Council of Baltimore in 1884 helped

the growth. Associations to bring educators together were begun; the Catholic Educational Association (later to add the adjective "National") was formed in 1904.

In 1889, The Catholic University of America came into being as the apex of Catholic schooling and as the agency to unify and guide it, raise its standards through a program of affiliation, and prepare its teachers. But Catholics could not completely accept new theorists who were lifting schools from their "Procrustean Bed": Pestalozzi because of his naturalism; Herbart because of his determinism; Froebel because of his pantheism; progressivism because of what they considered undue student permissiveness and a forgetfulness of original sin; and Thorndike because of his empiricism. Archbishop John Ireland's address of 1890 to the National Education Association began the Bouquillon controversy on the state's right to educate. Some Catholics remained opposed to the establishment and maintenance of Catholic schools; Father Edward McGlynn of New York City preferred that church resources be put into cryingly needful social welfare programs.

9. The period from World War I to post-World War II saw a new maturation. Ecclesiastically, the church's 1918 Code of Canon Law left no doubt about the church's right to educate. In 1919, when the National Catholic Welfare Conference (later called United States Catholic Conference) was formed as an arm of the bishops, it included a Department of Education. The year 1919 also witnessed an important Pastoral Letter of the bishops on education.

   Civilly, the U.S. Supreme Court's decision in *Pierce v. Society of Sisters* of 1925 has been called the Magna Carta of parochial schools, because it defended their right to exist. The court rendered other (at times inconsistent) decisions on matters like supplying textbooks to parochial school children, the right of religious teachers to contribute their salaries to their religious communities, bus transportation costs of parochial school pupils, Bible reading in government schools, released-time programs, the legality of religious teachers in government schools, and teaching sisters wearing religious garb in government schools. The greatest church-state cooperation in schooling came in 1944 with the

Servicemen's Readjustment Act, also called the "GI Bill of Rights."

10. The contemporary period, beginning with about the Sputnik year of 1957, is a period of ferment and challenge. In the country at large, it marks the end of the "WASP" and the beginning of a period that has been called secular, permissive, the Death of God, Post-Puritan, and a great moral revolution. In the church, the reverberations of the revolution begun by the election of Pope Paul XXIII in 1958 and his Vatican Council II arrived at these shores, causing waves of questioning of all traditional structures.

    The 60's questioning, estrangement of youth, and criticism of schools eventually leveled off. Statistics show Catholic schools to be faithful to their Christian heritage and academically more successful than many of their government school counterparts. Catholic schools have continued to uplift all students, but especially such underprivileged as those in the inner city. There has been a decrease in the number of religious teachers and a corresponding increase in the number of laity. Among the secondary agents of education, the family's important role has been hindered by modern marriage problems. Even in the face of overpowering financial difficulties, the church has continued to show commitment. And, the government's interest, especially that of the Supreme Court, has been confusing and contradictory. As for the last, there is hope in the new principle of the accommodation of religion.

11. History shows Catholic schooling in the U.S. to be eminently worth fighting for. It requires the same measure of sacrifice and heroism as those of the heroes of the past. Interested parties should contribute to much-needed studies of Catholic schools, see to it that carefully selected cases work their way through the courts to create a proper climate and set proper precedents for just and favorable decisions, and become familiar with and instruct others on the benefits of Catholic schools to the public weal as well as to individuals. For the individual, religion is the best formative influence in the world. For the public weal, Daniel Webster said, "Whatever makes men good Christians makes them good citizens."

    The United States remains the only country in the Western

world that intentionally prohibits the presence of any religion other than the secular in its government schools and at the same time makes it difficult to the point of impossibility to establish and maintain on an equal financial footing nongovernment schools which average parents can freely choose for their offspring and in which religion, so essential for true and complete education, can be presented in schooling.

75

FOOTNOTES

1. Much of the above, and some subsequent material, is taken from Harold A. Buetow, *Of Singular Benefit* (New York: Macmillan, 1970).
2. *The Oxford English Dictionary* (Glasgow, etc.: Oxford University Press, 1971), p. 1158.
3. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents* (Cleveland: Burrows Brothers, 1896-1901), Vol. 12, p. 123.
4. *Ibid.*, Chapter 66, p. 231.
5. Herbert Ingram Priestley, *The Coming of the White Man, 1492-1848* (New York: The Macmillan Co., 1950), p. 246.
6. William Bennet Munroe, *Crusaders of New France* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1920), pp. 131-132.
7. Letter of Father Stephen Dubuisson, S.J., to Father A. Young, S.J., March 3, 1827. Quoted in John M. Daley, S.J., *Georgetown University: Origin and Early Years* (Washington, D.C.: Georgetown University Press, 1957), p. 249.
8. *Meyer v. Nebraska*, 262 U.S. 390 (1923).
9. *Pierce v. Society of Sisters*, 268 U.S. 510, 45 S.Ct. 571, 69 L.Ed. 1070 (1925).
10. *Cochran v. Board of Education*, 281 U.S. 370, 74 L.Ed. 913 (1930).
11. *Gerhard v. Heid*, 66 N.D. 447, 267 N.W. 127 (1936).
12. *Judd v. Board of Education*, 278 N.Y. 200 (1938).
13. *Everson v. Board of Education*, 330 U.S. 1 (1947).
14. *Zellers v. Huff*, 55 N.M. 501, 236 Pac. 2d 949 (1951).
15. *Doremus v. Board of Education*, 253 U.S. 487, 405 S.Ct. 483, 262 Fed. 849 (1920).
16. *McCollum v. Board of Education*, 333 U.S. 203 (1948).
17. *Zorach v. Clauson*, 343 U.S. 306 (1952).
18. *Rawlings v. Butler*, 290 S.W. 2d 801 (1956).
19. *Ibid.*
20. Sidney E. Ahlstrom, *A Religious History of the American People* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972), p. 1087.
21. These and other statistics in this section are from Frank H. Bredeweg and Bruno V. Manno, eds., *United States Catholic Elementary and Secondary Schools 1983-1984: A Statistical Report on Schools, Enrollment, and Staffing* (Washington, D.C.: National Catholic Educational Association, 1984).
22. There are, for example, studies by James S. Coleman, Thomas Hofer, and Sally Kilgore; also those of Andrew Greeley. See Andrew Greeley, "Catholic High Schools: An Effective Inner-City Ministry," *National Catholic Reporter*. (August 31, 1984), pp. 11-12.

23. Cincy Currence. "A 'Catholic School's Effect' Is Reaffirmed by Its Champions, Coleman and Greeley," *Education Week. Vol. IV, No. 11, (November 14, 1984). pp. 2, 11.*

24. *The New York Times*, September 6, 1984, p. B3.

25. *Ibid.*, May 17, 1984, p. A20.

26. NC News Service, September 14, 1984.

27. *NCEA Notes, Secondary Department.* Vol. 17, No. 1 (September 1984), pp. 3-5. At this writing, NCEA promises additional findings in the February 1985 issue of *Momentum* and at the April 1985 NCEA convention.

28. Walter M. Abbot and Joseph Gallagher, eds., *The Documents of Vatican II* (New York: American Press, 1966).

29. *Dickman v. School District 62-C*, 366 P.2d 533 (1961).

30. *McGowan v. Maryland*, 366 U.S. 420 (1961).

31. *Engel v. Vitale*, 370 U.S. 481 (1962).

32. *School District of Abington Township v. Shempp*, 377 U.S. 203 (1963).

33. *Ibid.*

34. One quick about-face (in three years) was the government school flag-salute cases: *Minersville School District v. Gobitis*, 310 U.S. 586 (1940); *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnett*, 635 S. Ct. 437 (1943).

35. *Flast v. Gardner*, 390 U.S. 977 (1968).

36. *Frothingham v. Mellon*, 43 Sp. Ct. 597 (1923).

37. *Board of Education v. Allen*, 392 U.S. 236, 88 S.Ct. 1923, 20 L.Ed.2d 1060 (1968).

38. *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971).

39. *Wisconsin v. Yoder*, 406 U.S. 205, 92 S.Ct. 1526, 32 L.Ed.2d 15 (1972).

40. *Committee for Public Education and Religious Liberty v. Nyquist*, 413 U.S. 756 (1973).

41. *Meek v. Pittenger*, 421 U.S. 349 (1975).

42. *Tilton v. Richardson*, 403 U.S. 372, 29 L.Ed.2d 790 (1971).

43. *Lynch v. Donnelly*, 52 *Law Week* 4317 (March 6, 1984). This was a controversial 5-4 decision, and the court has agreed to hear *Board of Trustees v. McCreary*, from the heavily Jewish suburb of Scarsdale, N.Y., a case that involves a privately owned Christmas display on a small public park, Boniface Circle. It asks whether a local government opposed to using public land for that purpose may be forced to do so. The lower court said that the park was a public forum and that its use could not be denied to any group solely because of the content of the group's "speech." *The Washington Post*, October 16, 1984, p. A4.

44. *Mueller v. Allen*, 103 S.Ct. 3062 (1983). See also Neal Devins. "The Supreme Court and Private Schools: An Update," *This World*. 8 (Spring-Summer 1984), pp. 13-26.

45. *Bob Jones University v. United States*, 103 S. Ct. 2017 (1983).

46. *Mueller v. Allen, op. cit.*

47. *Lemon v. Kurtzman*, 403 U.S. 602 (1971), at 612-613.

48. *Wolman et al. v. Walter et al.*, 433 U.S. 229 (1977), citing *Lemon v. Kurtzman* at 614.

49. *School District of Grand Rapids v. Ball, Phyllis, et al.*, 104. S.Ct. 3506 (1984); No. 83-990. A tandem suit will be *Secretary of Education v. Felton*, 84-238.

50. *Wallace v. Jaffrey*, No. 83-812.

51. *Thornton v. Calder Inc.*, No. 83-1158.

52. *Board of Trustees v. McCreary*, No. 84-277.

53. Andrew M. Greeley and Peter H. Rossi, *The Education of Catholic Americans* (Chicago: Aldine Publishing Co., 1966); Reginald A. Neuwien, ed., *Catholic Schools in Action* (Notre Dame and London: University of Notre Dame Press, 1966).

54. *State of Victoria v. Commonwealth of Australia*, February 10, 1981, slip opinion.

55. *The Washington Post*, November 19, 1984, p. A16.

56. C. S. Lewis, *The Abolition of Man* (New York: Macmillan Publishing Co., 1955), p. 35.

SUGGESTED READING

Ahlstrom, Sydney E. *A Religious History of the American People*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1972. Pp. xvi + 1158.

A full-scale non-parochial history of American religion within the context of the social, political, and intellectual development of the United States.

Buetow, Harold A. *Of Singular Benefit: the Story of U.S. Catholic Education*. New York: The Macmillan Co., 1970. Pp. xvii + 526.

An in-depth appraisal of the history of Catholic schools in the United States to its date of publication.

Kraushaar, Otto. *American Nonpublic Schools: Patterns of Diversity*. Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972. Pp. xv + 387.

An overview of nongovernment schooling: historical perspective; the world of these schools from the viewpoint of students, teachers, leadership, finance, and goals; and, in the context of their relation to the public interest, the pros and cons of state aid and state regulation.

Ravitch, Diane. *The Troubled Crusade: American Education 1945-1980*. New York: Basic Books, 1983. Pp. xiii + 384.

A comprehensive historical account of the controversies that have beset schools and universities since World War II: fads, fashions, changes, and conflicts. Treats government schools from an "establishment" point of view, and touches upon nongovernment schools.

SUGGESTIONS FOR USING THIS BOOKLET

There are many uses for this series of booklets on the Catholic school. Colleges will find them a valuable resource in preservice formation programs for Catholic school teachers. Graduate schools will find them helpful in the preparation of Catholic school administrators. Principals will find in them a rich resource for inservice of teachers and boards of education. Individual Catholic educators will find in them a unique and challenging help to their own personal and professional growth.

Plans that differ in length and format are offered to those who will be using these booklets. These plans are arranged for easy adaptation by users according to their purpose and needs.

Extended Format: This plan is for the college teacher, the principal or group leader who can spend two or more sessions on the material.

Mix and Match: This format gives users a choice of openings, of middles and of endings. It invites users to design their own model, choosing suggested components according to the interests and readiness of participants and the time available.

Planned Format—Single Session: The single session format is arranged for one 60-90 minute session. It provides a step-by-step plan for the busy leader, even estimated time allotments.

Independent Study: Educators motivated to explore the booklet and/or teachers assigned to study it will find suggestions in this plan for interacting with the content, for reflecting on its meaning and for internalizing its message.

It is hoped that Catholic leaders will find the planning formats a beginning—an incentive to go beyond in their search

for ways to help Catholic school teachers grasp the distinctiveness of their school and of their ministry.

Orientation

In the suggestions below, the first two formats presume each participant has read the booklet before the sessions begin. In introducing the booklet, you might distribute them with the directive to read the first paragraph and then list three ways Catholic schools are a phenomenon of which all can be proud. Then proceed to finish reading the booklet. The third format (Planned Format) includes reading of the booklet within the meeting itself.

EXTENDED FORMATS

OPTION A—(Format for three or more sessions):

Session 1: Leader summarizes content by completing the following chart with the participants. After each period, participants discuss: What growth has taken place in Catholic schools? What obstacles have been faced?

Period	People	Events

Session 2: Choose from **Mix and Match** activities listed below. Before the closing prayer, assign the following to individuals or small groups:

a. Interview three people (teachers in another Catholic

school, parents, clergy...) about their perceptions of the history of Catholic schools in your area.

b. Research the history of your particular school, focusing especially on the role of each of the following: faith; immigrants; religious and laity; parish life; economics.

Session 3: Share the research done since the previous session. Discuss the following:

Our school is historically the same as most other Catholic schools because...

Our school is unique in its development as a Catholic school because...

Then have each respond to the following:

What from these sessions makes me prize our Catholic school?

OPTION B—(Format for two-three sessions):

Use various combinations of **Mix and Match** activities listed below for two or three sessions or for one extended session.

MIX AND MATCH

Step 1: Prayer

Step 2: Openings (10 minutes)—choose one of the following:

a. Invite someone to share a prepared timeline of any specific Catholic school, noting its struggles and successes.

b. In groups of three-four, share your personal history with Catholic education (however brief or long that history may be), as well as the effect Catholic education has had on you.

c. In small groups, list three challenges Catholic schools face as they move forward. Share these with the large group. Note whether these can be classified/categorized.

d. List all the obstacles/factors that Catholic schools have struggled with throughout their history. When finished, star those which still face Catholic schools.

e. List the successes/contributions that Catholic

schools have made throughout their history. Respond with any observations you have about the list.

Step 3: Middles (40 minutes)—choose one or more of the following:

a. Choose several of the following and discuss the role that each played in the historical development of Catholic schools: the poor; religious communities; laity; clergy; faith; prejudice; parish; NCEA; missionaries; economics; courts; parents; First Amendment; separation of church and state; immigration; politics; secularism.

b. List the above items on the board (or a chart). Discuss their interrelatedness as they affected Catholic schools.

c. Discuss the statement, "One person can make a difference" in light of the specific contributions to Catholic schools of each of the following: John Carroll; Elizabeth Bayley Seton; Katherine Drexel; Robert Packwood; Thomas Bouquillon.

d. Choose from among the following statements/quotes. Read them in context, then respond to the following questions:
What does this say to us about Catholic schools?
What implications does it have for us today?
p. 1: "It seems from...U.S. society."
p. 3: "From all groups...better-educated persons."
p. 5: "It is therefore...for further thought."
p. 28: "The fact that...have happened here."
p. 28: "When the government...its schooling efforts."
p. 64: "Parochial schools...choose for them."
p. 70: "The fact of...geldings be fruitful."

Step 4: Endings (10 minutes)—choose one of the following:

a. In small groups or as individuals, develop a pictorial timeline which depicts the major developments of each time period. Use pictures/drawings to portray each major development.

b. List the five most important factors in the

historical development of Catholic schools and defend your choice of these particular five.

c. In small groups, design a slogan to represent the quality and history of Catholic schools.

d. Using as many of the words from the list in "Middle #1" as you can, arrange them in a diagram to show their interrelatedness.

e. Each respond to the following statements and share in groups of threes:
Because of this session, I appreciate...
I wonder...
I would like to...

Step 5: Closing Prayer

PLANNED FORMAT—SINGLE SESSION

Minutes

Step 1: Opening Prayer:
Song—Faith of Our Fathers.

Step 2: Leader reads or paraphrases the first paragraph on page 1.

10 Step 3: Have participants list one-two points of view from which Catholic schools are a miracle of U.S. society.

Step 4: Share these with the total group, noting commonality and uniqueness of observations.

15 Step 5: Divide content into the following sections. Assign each to an individual or small group to read and to list one or two summary statements of the content.

Catholic Schools and the Common Good	pp. 1-6
European Prologue and Colonial Period	7-16
Early National Period	17-22
Later National Period	23-30

	Growth	31-37
	New Maturation	39-47
	Contemporary (part 1)	49-58
	(part 2)	58-66

25 Step 6: Share these statements with the group in chronological order. (Possibly list the statements on board or chart.)

15 Step 7: Discuss the following question: What contributions have Catholic schools made in our country?

Step 8: All read the Conclusions (pp. 67-70).

Step 9: Each respond to the following statements and share in groups of threes:

10 Because of this session, I learned that...

I was surprised that...

I feel...

Step 10: Closing Prayer

Sing refrain of "Glory and Praise" (Glory & Praise, Vol 1, #17).

INDEPENDENT STUDY

Step 1. Read the Conclusion (pp. 67-70). List three questions you hope are answered in the text.

Step 2. As you read the text, complete the following outline/timeline:

Major factors affecting the development of Catholic Schools
Colonial 1600
Early National 1800
Later National 1850
Growth 1900
New Maturation 1920
Contemporary 1957

Step 3. Were your initial questions answered? Were you pleased with the content?

Step 4. Reflect on the following questions:
What new knowledge did I gain from reading this?
What new feelings/values do I now have for Catholic schools?
What difference will this make in my ministry in the Catholic schools?

Step 5. Commit yourself to a mini-action plan to cause the above to make a difference in your work.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Father Harold A. Buetow, J.D., Ph.D. is a full professor at The Catholic University of America, Washington, D.C. He teaches courses and individual classes in the Institute of Adult Education at Catholic University.

Since 1967, Buetow has been deeply involved in administrative activities at Catholic University, most recently serving on the Academic Policy and Curriculum Committee of the School of Education, on the Senate Committee on Procedures for the Appeal of Failing Grades, and as chairman of the Academic Policy Committee of the School of Education.

He has published five books, including *Of Singular Benefit: The Story of U.S. Catholic Education*, winner of the National Catholic Book Award, and has written a number of articles for a variety of periodicals.

Buetow chairs concluding oral doctoral defenses in various departments of Catholic University and provides dissertation guidance on both Master's and Doctor's levels. In 1981, he testified on Tuition Tax Credits before the U.S. Senate Committee on Finance, Subcommittee on Taxation and Debt Management. He lectures throughout the U.S. and abroad, at colleges, on radio and television and to learned societies.

He received his J.D. in 1980 from the Columbus School of Law at Catholic University. He holds a Ph.D. from Catholic University in the History and Philosophy of Education, and an M.A. in the Psychology of Education, also from Catholic University.

NCEA KEYNOTE SERIES

1. *Distinctive Qualities of the Catholic School*
   Father Edwin J. McDermott, S.J.
2. *A History of Catholic Schooling in the United States*
   Father Harold A. Buetow
3. *Development and Public Relations for the Catholic School*
   Jerry A. Jarc
4. *Governance and Administration in the Catholic School*
   Brother Theodore Drahmann, F.S.C.
5. *Catholic School Finance and Church-State Relations*
   Brother Terence McLaughlin, F.S.C.
6. *Student Moral Development in the Catholic School*
   Sister Mary Peter Traviss, O.P.
7. *The Parent, the Parish, and the Catholic School*
   Dr. Ed Weisse
8. *The Teacher in the Catholic School*
   Sister Francis Raftery, S.C.
9. *Curriculum in the Catholic School*
   Brother Robert J. Kealey, F.S.C.
10. *Catechetics in the Catholic School*
    Father James F. Hawker
11. *Methods of Teaching in the Catholic School*
    Sister Mary Leanne Welch, PBVM

TITLES IN PREPARATION

Total Development of the Student in the Catholic School

Research and the Catholic School

National Catholic
Educational Association
1077 30th Street NW, Suite 100
Washington, D.C. 20007-3852